



# ***Daily Report***

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## **Sub-Saharan Africa**

FBIS-AFR-93-231  
Friday  
3 December 1993

# Daily Report

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3 December 1993

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## **Somalia's Aidid Attends Humanitarian Conference in Ethiopia**

### **Radio Reports Aidid's Arrival**

*EA0212181993 (Clandestine) Radio Mogadishu Voice of the Great Somali People in Somali 1700 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Mr. Mohamed Farah Aidid, chairman of the Somali National Alliance [SNA] and of the United Somali Congress, and his delegation left Mogadishu airport today at 1600 for Addis Ababa.

The chairman and his delegation's visit to Addis Ababa followed an invitation extended to them by Meles Zenawi, the president of the Ethiopian Government. Mr. Mohamed Farah Aidid and his delegation were seen off at Mogadishu airport by SNA officials.

A report reaching us now says that Chairman Aidid and his delegation arrived in Addis Ababa at 1900. Members of the delegation included, Abdulle Yusuf, of the Somali Salvation Democratic Front; Robert Oakley, U.S. special envoy in Somalia; and Mr. (Yohanes Lesane), President Meles Zenawi's envoy.

### **Receives 'Warm Welcome'**

*EA0212181093 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1700 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] The leader of the Somali National Alliance, General Farah Aidid, arrived in Addis Ababa this evening. General Aidid's opponent, Ali Mahdi, arrived in Addis Ababa yesterday evening. The Ethiopian Foreign Ministry has noted that President Meles will mediate in the talks between the leaders of the two factions within the coming two or three days. General Aidid and his colleague Colonel Ahmed Omar Jais were given a warm welcome by the participants in the Fourth Somali Humanitarian Conference on arrival at Bole International Airport.

### **Aidid 'Confident' of Solution**

*AB0212193193 Paris AFP in English 1845 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[By Serge Arnold]

[Text] Addis Ababa, Dec 2 (AFP)—Somali warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid arrived in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa Thursday [2 December] aboard an American C-12 aircraft for talks aimed at leading to a reconciliation conference ending years of conflict in his troubled country.

General Aidid was greeted at the airport by a delegation of his Somali National Alliance (SNA) which has been in Addis Ababa despite boycotting a U.N. conference on humanitarian aid to Somalia held here from Monday to Wednesday.

He was due to take part in informal talks involving all the Somali factions brokered by Ethiopian President Meles Zenawi, Cooperation Minister Hussein Adulmajid said earlier.

A full reconciliation conference of the strife-torn country's clans, if agreed in the talks here, would be held either in Ethiopia or in Somalia itself next January, Hussein Adulmajid said.

On his arrival Aidid said he did not want to predict the outcome of the informal talks, expected to last two or three days. "I am confident that the Somalis will find a lasting solution," he said.

On the eventuality of a meeting with his chief rival, the self-styled interim president Ali Mahdi Mohamed, Aidid commented: There is no problem with him. He is my brother. We have already shaken hands."

He stressed that he was not in the Ethiopian capital because of the U.N. conference. "I have come to meet my brother Meles Zenawi."

SNA delegates noted that Aidid had hesitated over travelling to Addis Ababa on security grounds. Earlier this year he was hunted down by American U.N. Forces in Somalia which held him responsible for attacks on U.N. troops there, and a 25,000 dollar reward was offered for information leading to his arrest.

The U.N. Force in Somalia "still holds several of our men, and we could not be sure that they would not arrest the general, or even kill him," a spokesman for the SNA, Abdulkarim Abdul Ali, said.

An Ethiopian Government envoy, Johannes Lisani, flew to the Somali capital to meet the general and persuade him to travel to Addis Ababa. Lisani's role had been crucial, Abdul Ali said.

The warlord, wearing a pull-over and a red tie, appeared nervous and tired on his arrival here.

He said he was confident that the SNA detainees in Somalia would be freed.

Aidid had earlier called for an African peace initiative for Somalia.

On Monday he invited all factions to a peace conference in January, ordering the U.N. Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) to leave and accusing it of failing to help Somalis rebuild their country and of diverting resources earmarked for humanitarian work to military purposes.

The United Nations last month suspended an arrest order for Aidid while an independent commission investigates allegations that he masterminded the June killings of 24 Pakistani U.N. peacekeepers.

Twelve factions opposed to Aidid's three-faction SNA were already in the Ethiopian capital on Thursday.



The reconciliation process is to begin with discussions to clarify the factions' positions on peace accords signed at a previous U.N.-brokered conference in Addis Ababa in March.

Ethiopia has expressed disappointment at the abandonment of the March accords, while the U.N. chose a bloody but unsuccessful military option against Aidid which was abandoned after 18 U.S. soldiers were killed in an October 3 battle with his militiamen.

#### **Donor Groups Call For Police Force for Somalia**

*EA0212202593 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1700 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] The international donor organizations have noted that there will be no other option except to reestablish the country's national police force in order to be able to achieve the objective of the humanitarian assistance program underway in Somalia.

These organizations, who participated in the Fourth Somali Humanitarian Conference, noted that the establishment of the national police force was crucial because peace and stability should be given priority in order to rehabilitate and reconstruct Somalia. If the various Somali political factions do not reconcile, the efforts by the United Nations and other donor organizations to assist the country will not be successful, some diplomats noted in their statement to the ETHIOPIAN NEWS AGENCY.

Some sources who attended the conference have noted that although UNOSOM is intending to return the former Somali police force to its job, the country's main faction, the Somali National Alliance [SNA], has denounced the idea. According to the SNA, the police force which is going to be established by the United Nations is not the real representative of the Somali people but rather a UNOSOM clique.

#### **Fourth Humanitarian Conference Concludes in Addis Ababa**

*EA0212201193 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1700 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] The Fourth Somali Humanitarian Conference, held in Addis Ababa's Africa Hall, concluded yesterday. The conference, which was attended by international donor organizations, government representatives, various Somali factions and 15 regional representatives, noted in a statement that it will implement the points listed in its statement within six months. The points concern rehabilitating and reconstructing Somalia and bringing about peace and stability in Somalia.

Mr. (Jan Eliasson), UN under secretary for humanitarian affairs, who chaired the conference, noted that the statement issued at the end of the conference is a basis for the implementation of rehabilitation and development programs in Somalia. Mr. (Eliasson) praised the efforts by the participants for success of the conference. He went on to say that the future of Somalia will only be decided if the plans are implemented during the next six months.

## **Burundi**

### **Commission of Inquiry To Investigate Late President's Death**

*EA0212225093 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in French 1800 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] The National Commission of judicial inquiry into the assassination of the president of the republic, Mr. Melchior Ndadaye, and his close colleagues, and into the crimes and excesses which were carried out in the entire country, has just been appointed. It is made up of 27 members. The president and the vice president are, respectively, Mr. Majanyuma Jean-Berchmans and Major Nzeyemana Dieu-Donne.

### **Rwandan Reports on Burundian Soldiers' Incursions Denied**

*AB0212100693 Dakar PANA in English 0946 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Bujumbura, 1 Dec (ADP-BUR/PANA)—Burundi on Wednesday dismissed as "groundless" reports that its soldiers and civilians had made forays into southern Rwanda. The BURUNDI NEWS AGENCY, quoting "well informed sources" said the reports were only a "diversion aimed at concealing the current ethnic massacres in the country." The reports had said that the forays had been into the Giashora borough.

The sources said there was rather "an encounter which took place on the border between Burundi and Tanzania" in the borough of Kayagiro in the Makamba Province, south east of Burundi, between an armed group from Tanzania and a Burundian Gendarmerie squad.

According to observers, there have been suspicion between Rwanda and Burundi since an abortive coup in Burundi on 21 October led to the death of Burundi's first elected president Melchior Ndadaye and touched off an ethnic conflict in which hundreds of people have died.

## **Equatorial Guinea**

### **Ruling Party Claims Victory in 21 Nov General Elections**

*AB0212185193 Paris AFP in English 1819 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Libreville, Dec 2 (AFP)—The ruling Equatorial Guinea Democratic Party (PDGE) claimed victory Thursday [2 December] in the country's first multi-party general elections held on November 21.

State radio monitored here said the PDGE had obtained 68 of the 80 seats in the National Assembly in elections which were boycotted by four of the seven opposition parties.

Western countries also refused to send observers to monitor the polling.

Of the three opposition parties which took part in the vote, the Democratic and Social Union (UDS) was credited with five seats, the People's Social Democratic Convention (CSDP) got six and the Liberal Party the remaining one.

Liberal Party president Santos Pascual Bikomo Akwane Nanguande called last weekend for the results of the elections to be cancelled, saying there had been massive fraud.

The government has given no figures for voter turnout, which opposition movements said was extremely low, though President Teodoro Obiang Nguema has denied this.

### **BBC Reports Government Crackdown on Bubi Ethnic Community**

*AB0312103893 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Equatorial Guinea's President Obiang has been claiming a huge victory in the recent general elections. The international community is describing them as a travesty. They were boycotted by the opposition, who complained of rigging, intimidation, and harassment during the campaign, and since the poll, there seems to have been a crackdown on the Bubi ethnic community. Two young men were allegedly arrested and beaten up three days after the elections, now a local official is being detained. Here is Matthew Tostevin.

[Tostevin] Epiphania Boresofa was arrested at his home in the village of (San Paca) early this morning. Reports from the capital, Malabo, say that he has been detained there. Epiphania was the leader of the Bubi ethnic group, which has been agitating for the independence of the island of Bioko. The Bubi are the largest group on the island although they make up only 15 percent of the country as a whole. The Bubi say they are discriminated against by the Fang dominated government. The call for autonomy of Bioko intensified during campaigning for the country's general elections which took place on 21 November. The Bubi carried out a boycott of the election, which sources in Malabo say was at least 95 percent effective within the Bubi community. Bubis said that they would not involve themselves with any political party either with the government or with the opposition as their demand is for independence.

On Tuesday [30 November] this week, President Obiang Nguema called the Bubi leaders to the presidency. He told the leaders in no uncertain terms that demands for independence were unacceptable and would not be entertained. Fears are growing in Malabo that the conflicts between Bubis and the regime may become bloody. Sources there say that while it has not yet reached the stage of open conflict, the government has for years meted out violence against the Bubi.

**Gabon****Government Presses Ahead With Poll Despite Reservations***AB0212225393 London BBC World Service in English  
1705 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The Gabon Government decided yesterday that in spite of widespread complaints and reservations from many quarters, it will press ahead with general elections as scheduled on Sunday [5 December]. The opposition has been calling for a delay, claiming that nothing is ready. The voters are unregistered and voters lists are incomplete and it seems there are fears of trouble at the polls. There has also been speculation that the opposition might decide to boycott the whole thing. On the line to Libreville, Ragi Oman asked our correspondent, Yves Roger Monanbasi, what the reaction has been to the government's decision to go ahead:

[Begin recording] [Monanbasi] Shortly after the cabinet meeting that decision [as heard] the elections, the opposition coalition gathered and they decided to go to the polling station. They appealed their partisans [as heard] not to boycott the elections because they know that the government will be responsible of [as heard] any consequences which can occur next Sunday.

[Oman] So they have urged their supporters to participate in the poll on Sunday.

[Monanbasi] Yes, apart from participating, just they ask everybody to go and collect the voting cards and to register if there are some latecomers.

[Oman] Now, they have raised quite a lot of serious objections to the poll going ahead as planned on Sunday, saying that the country was just not prepared for the election. Do they still hold these grievances such as the people not being registered?

[Monanbasi] Yes they do because they know that nothing was really ready. And officially, what I can tell you is that the government is trying to gather some civil servants to help them to make things ready before Sunday. And this is true, everybody can see that. But things are not ready for Sunday.

[Oman] I mean, do you know of a lot of people yourself who have not as yet registered for this poll.

[Monanbasi] I myself, I have already registered but unfortunately I cannot find my name on the list. And that is also a problem for everybody.

[Oman] Is that quite widespread, is it that kind of problem?

[Monanbasi] Yes, nationwide not only Libreville.

[Oman] So, do you think that the opposition has decided to go ahead with the poll, knowing that if there are a lot

of problems forthcoming it will all be on the government's head. That is what you think their policy is?

[Monanbasi] Yes it is. Just because that this our situation can bring about some violence [as heard] if people arrive at the polling station and they don't find their name or they don't accept to go to ballot [as heard] I think that may cause some problem, some kind of violence.

[Oman] We are only a few days away from the poll on Sunday, what is the mood like in the country. Are people quite happy that the poll is going ahead and that they are all going to take part, despite the problem.

[Monanbasi] Yes, it is a kind of mixed feelings. People know that they are going to go to a polling station but at the same time they are feeling some situations such as violence. And what I notice, people are going to shopping centers to make some kind of provision in case something might happen.

[Oman] Now, given a lot of people are afraid that violence might be a major factor, come the election on Sunday, are there quite a lot of security precautions which are being taken by the government?

[Monanbasi] Yes, I can confirm this situation. Yes, right, the security forces will be deployed in all the polling stations. Starting from now, some police forces have been deployed in some polling stations in Libreville and some have been sent into the interior.

[Oman] Is there quite a heavy presence planned by the government in major voting sites?

[Monanbasi] Yes, of course, it is.

[Oman] Briefly, how would you assess the mood in the country, in the runup to the poll. Would you say it is rather tense?

[Monanbasi] We can't say that it is very tense but people are just expecting something which might happen. And again they are also happy with the fact that they are going to look for a change. [end recording]

**Rwanda****Minister Warns Burundi Refugees After Ethnic Killings***AB0212201593 Paris AFP in English 1811 GMT  
02 Dec 93*

[Text] Kigali, Dec 2 (AFP)—Rwanda's Government warned Burundi refugees against trouble on Thursday [2 December], as 40 arrests were made two days after Hutus turned on Tutsis and Burundi troops massacred a dozen Rwandans in the south of Rwanda.

Interior Minister Faustin Munyazesa and his defence counterpart, Augustin Bizimana, visited the Ngenda



district, south of Kigali, where the soldiers also abducted other Rwandan civilians, forced them across the border and killed them.

The total number of dead was not known.

"You have no interest in spreading disorder among the people who have welcomed you with open arms," Munyazesa said during his visit, according to officials.

Five local people from the Tutsi minority were also killed in Ngenda by their Hutu neighbours and more than 300 others fled to take refuge in the neighbouring Roman Catholic parish of Rubuha.

The refugees, almost all from Burundi's Hutu majority, told the minister that the ethnic strife was the doing of a hard core of troublemakers and about 40 arrests were made, officials said.

The two ministers have called on the Burundi Government to help repatriate the bodies of those slain across the border and to hunt down the soldiers who carried out the raid.

About 700,000 Burundis fled the small central African country amid ethnic slaughter after soldiers of the Tutsi-dominated army on October 23 assassinated its first Hutu president before abandoning a coup bid.

The Tutsis have traditionally been the overlords in both the densely populated highland nations.

Relief workers estimate that tens of thousands of people were murdered in Burundi after the coup attempt, which followed an unexpected victory for the late President Melchior Ndadaye in the first multi-party poll in June.

They also estimate that 375,000 of the refugees, mostly Hutus, have fled to Rwanda, which has a similar ethnic makeup and has begun to emerge from a three-year civil war.

Both countries, which became independent from Belgium in 1962, have been swept by periodic waves of ethnic bloodshed in which hundreds of thousands of people have died.

Burundi Government ministers, who took refuge in foreign embassies after the coup attempt, have re-emerged under close guard in a bid to restore order and assure themselves of the loyalty of the army.

But further slaughter has been reported in the outskirts of the Burundi capital Bujumbura and in the provinces.

Ndadaye and close aides killed in the coup bid are currently due to be buried on December 6 in a funeral already postponed from last month.

### **RPF Denies Responsibility for Gisenyi Attacks**

*EA0212130493 (Clandestine) Radio Muhabura in French to Rwanda 1815 GMT 1 Dec 93*

[Excerpt] Rwanda is progressively becoming a large arena of violence. It is now the turn of Mutura commune in Gisenyi prefecture. Once again, Bugesera commune has become the (?target) of barbarism. Here is a summary of a communique on the subject, translated from Kinyarwanda into French:

On the night of 29 November, acts of violence took place in the Kabatwa area of Mutura commune, Gisenyi prefecture. Radio Kigali took no time in blaming them on the Rwandan Patriotic Front [RPF].

The RPF informs national and international opinion that it bears no responsibility for the events which took place over 50 km from the nearest positions of the Rwandan Patriotic Army [RPA]. It is impossible for the RPA to launch an attack at such a great distance and to retreat to its positions in only one night without encountering the slightest resistance from government troops. The sad events of Mutura commune are just a masquerade in which the Republican National Movement for Democracy and Development and the Coalition for the Defense of the Republic have surpassed themselves in finding pretexts aimed at once again massacring innocent people. [passage omitted]

### **Premier Says UN Force To Set Date for Installing Government**

*BR0112140093 Groot-Bijgaarden DE STANDAARD in Dutch 1 Dec 93 p 6*

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana, by Rik De Gendt, in Kigali; date not given: "UN Peacekeeping Force in Rwanda 'Must Set Date For Installation of Transitional Government'—Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana Sees Security As Priority"]

[Excerpt] "It is up to the UN peacekeeping force in Rwanda to give the green light for the installation of a transitional government which will include the Rwandan Patriotic Front (FPR). The UN troops must first ensure sufficient security and protection," Rwandan Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana said in an interview with DE STANDAARD. She hoped that this would be possible before the end of 1993.

The installation of an extended transitional government, in which the FPR is to have five ministerial positions, is the first component of the peace agreement made by the Rwandan Government and the FPR on 4 August of this year in Arusha, Tanzania. The parties gave themselves 37 days to complete this stage. But nearly four months later there is still no government. In turn, this is linked to the formation of MINUAR (UN Mission for the Assistance of Rwanda).

"My government's first task was the negotiations about a UN peace force, which was to monitor the implementation of the Arusha agreement," Uwilingiyimana said. On 18 July 1993 she succeeded Dismas Nsengiyaremye as prime minister. They are both members of the MDR [Republican Democratic Movement].

"The presence of UN troops is a precondition for the formation of a transitional government and a parliament in which the FPR is represented," she said. "The first soldiers, including 300 Belgians, have already arrived, but their numbers are clearly still insufficient to guarantee the necessary security and stability in the country. From this point onward we are leaving it to MINUAR Commander Brigadier General Romeo Dallaire to set the date when both transitional institutions can start work."

Nevertheless, it is not possible to put off this date for too long. The UN Security Council could make the extension of MINUAR's provisional 90-day mandate conditional on a functioning government and parliament by January 1994. This was too speculative for Uwilingiyimana. "I am convinced that by the end of December both transitional institutions will be formed and operational," she said.

#### Twagiramungu

Divisions within the MDR are a second obstacle to forming the government. Under the Arusha agreement, the MDR will get the prime minister's position. The agreement even mentioned MDR President Faustin Twagiramungu by name. But he and the ministers in the Uwilingiyimana government were expelled from the party by an extraordinary conference shortly before the agreement was signed.

"Within the MDR we are well on the way to a reconciliation," the Rwandan prime minister said. "But putting that aside, we continue to stick by Twagiramungu as the future prime minister. Our argument is solid in a legal sense, since the expulsion from the party was never officially registered."

"The differences in opinion were political and therefore require a political solution," she added. "This sort of thing is never impossible. In addition, by overemphasizing the ethnic aspect, Twagiramungu's opponents removed themselves from the true party ideology and are losing influence every day. For months Provisional Secretary Donat Murego has done nothing constructive."

Exceptionally difficult tasks are awaiting Twagiramungu's government, when it is ready. "It must give absolute priority to the reconstruction of our country, including the return of the Rwandan refugees and preparing free elections," Uwilingiyimana said. "But that presupposes the demobilization of the two armies and the formation of a single army."

"The Arusha agreement states that the whole process must be finished within 22 months from the government taking office," Uwilingiyimana said. "In the last six months of this period there will be elections for local councils, parliament, and finally a president, in that order."

#### Burundi

For the last one and a half month the crisis in neighboring Burundi has been a serious burden on politics and social life in Rwanda. "The longer the unrest there lasts, the heavier it weighs on us," Uwilingiyimana said. "The refugees who came here are mainly Hutus and have strong anti-Tutsi feelings. We are afraid that this mood will transfer to our own people, who have contacts with the refugees."

"We are trying to separate extremists and suppress false, inflammatory reports," she said. "The stubborn rumor that refugees are preparing an attack on Burundi from and with the help of Rwanda is false. It originates from opponents of Burundian democracy who want to somehow justify the coup and the subsequent repression which got out of hand."

The flow of Burundian refugees has led to increased sympathy among the Rwandan people for Belgium. Many people still find it hard to stomach that at the start of the war in October 1990 Belgium refused to deliver weapons, and that at the time former minister Jean Gol made tough statements, and that the Belgian paratroopers left after only one month.

"It is certain that France has benefited from that," Uwilingiyimana admitted. "The fact that Belgium is now the first country to send UN troops and recently increased their number to 450 is a clear signal of goodwill, which we are very happy about. The war made us neglect the important sector of social development. Therefore, we are confident of being able to count on Belgium in the future for further help with the reconstruction of our country, more specifically in the fields of education, health care, and agriculture." [passage omitted]



## Kenya

### Official Warns of Firm Action Against Criminals

EA0212124993 Nairobi KNA in English 0845 GMT  
2 Dec 93

[Text] Kwale, 2 Dec (KNA)—The Kwale DC [district commissioner] Mr John Ngeno has warned that the government will deal firmly with those inciting wananchi [citizens] into acts of violence and lawlessness in the district. Mr Ngeno, who is the chairman of the district security committee, also directed the Kwale OCPD [officer in charge of police division] to arrest those people, on the spot, inciting wananchi to commit criminal activities.

The DC, who was addressing an emergency security meeting at Tiwi trading centre, assured all people living in the district that the government will continue to protect them and their property regardless of tribe or political affiliation. Mr Ngeno called for peaceful co-existence between different tribes residing in the district and said that the country's Constitution allowed anybody to own property anywhere in the Republic. He warned wananchi against taking the law into their own hands and instead [to] use the right machinery in airing their grievances.

The meeting, which was called following incidents of violence in the Tiwi area of Kwale and Likoni area of Mombasa, was also addressed by all three MP's in the district, Messrs Boy Juma Boy, Matuga [constituency], Mr Kassim Mwamzandi (Msambweni), Gonzi Rai, Kinango [constituency] and Likoni MP, Salim Mwamumo. All condemned the violence and called upon the government to beef up security in the affected areas so that wananchi could go on with their own normal duties without fear. The area MP Mr Boy Juma also visited the scene of the violence at the Tiwi hospital and consoled them. [sentence as received]

### President Host Luncheon for Retiring Army Commander

EA3011141093 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Excerpt] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today at State House, Nairobi, hosted a luncheon in

honor of the Army commander, Lieutenant General James Lengees, who is retiring tomorrow, 30 November. Gen. Lengees is retiring after a very distinguished military career spanning over 42 years. The new Army commander is Lt. Gen. Daudi Tonje, who takes over from 1 December this year.

Commending Gen. Lengees, President Moi, who is also the commander in chief of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Kenya, noted that for one to move through the ranks from a private to a lieutenant general, he has to be truly remarkable and have a high sense of discipline, integrity, courage, and competence. He noted that during the eight years stewardship of Gen. Lengees, the Army had continued to maintain its high reputation in all fields. He described Gen. Lengees as a great soldier and reiterated his confidence in the Armed Forces under the leadership of Gen. Mahmud Mohamed. The president, on behalf of Kenyans, wished Gen. Lengees good blessings in his retirement. The commander in chief said he was happy that the Armed Forces did not get involved in the political turbulence the country went through during the last two years.

Describing the forces as role models, President Moi urged them to set an example in exercising strict control in the utilization of resources. During the occasion, the president congratulated Lt. Gen. Tonje on assuming the office and functions of Army commander. He observed that Gen. Tonje's distinguished military career spanned over 30 years. [passage omitted]

## Somalia

### Aidid Leaves Mogadishu for Addis Ababa Peace Conference

AB0212141893 Paris AFP in English 1411 GMT  
2 Dec 93

[Text] Mogadishu, 2 Dec (AFP)—Somali warlord Mohamed Farah Aidid left Mogadishu for Addis Ababa on Thursday to attend a peace conference brokered by Ethiopian President Meles Zenawi, airport sources said. General Aidid had boycotted a U.N. conference on humanitarian aid to Somalia held in the Ethiopian capital from Monday to Wednesday.

**President Answers Parliamentarians Questions**

*MB0212120293 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1620 GMT 1 Dec 93*

[“Edited version” of question and answer session directed at President F.W. de Klerk, in Parliament in Cape Town on 1 December, on the “6 on 1” program—recorded]

[Text] The current parliamentary sitting which started last week, today again had the opportunity to put questions to State President F.W. de Klerk. According to a tradition established over a short period the state president has no prior knowledge of the questions and, therefore, has to answer them unprepared. Against the background of reform, negotiations and the facilitation of legislation flowing out of the talks at Kempton Park, this session is enjoying particular attention. We now take a look at an edited version of this afternoon’s question and answer session in Cape Town.

[Begin recording] [Solidarity MP Narend Singh] Mr. President Sir, it is common knowledge that the realignment of South Africa has been phenomenal. New political trends are emerging. On the one hand the Freedom Alliance, on the other hand the non-Freedom Alliance, and both seem to be heading on a collision course. If a settlement is not reached South Africa will pay a heavy price in the long run, despite talks of [words indistinct] from both Mr. Mandela and yourself. As an important and influential role player in the non-Freedom Alliance axis, in addition to being custodian of the transition, a very heavy onus rests on you sir to set South Africa on a course of reconciliation, reconstruction, and development. The price we have to pay sir to buy peace ... [interruption]

[Speaker] Order, order...order, order. No, the honorable member made a promise to me...

[Singh] I’m coming to the question now sir. [laughter] The price we have to pay to buy peace might sound high but how much higher will it be if we still have to sit five, 10 or 15 years later to resolve a conflict? My question to you Mr. President, sir, is: Why don’t you call a summit between the leadership of the alliance and the leadership of the axis, lock yourselves in a room and emerge to give South Africa hope rather than doom? Thank you.

[De Klerk] Mr. Speaker, I am absolutely available for such a summit, but I am not in a position and I shouldn’t be in a position to force any political leader to participate in a summit...in a summit, and we have the situation that we’ve been trying to get a summit of the signatories of the peace accord and the situation that the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] refuses to attend it unless certain preconditions are met. On the other hand, the Freedom Alliance wants me to call a leadership summit and Mr. Mandela and the ANC [African National Congress] refuses to attend it, while they are prepared to attend a summit of the signatories of the peace accord. Therefore, as far as I’m concerned I have interested

myself in this. I have tried, through exploratory discussions, to set it up but I do not get the cooperation from, on the one hand, with regard to the violence situation, I do not get it from all the members of the Freedom Alliance, on the other hand with regard to constitutional matters, I do not get it from the ANC and its associates. Therefore, sir, we are negotiating on a bilateral basis and we are bending over backwards, and we are doing our utmost to try and assure that progress is made also with those who thus far stood aside from the agreements reached at Kempton Park. In that sense of the word, sir, therefore, please address, inasmuch as you might have influence in any of, what you refer to as the axis, please address yourself to those who refuse to participate in such a summit.

[National Party MP Louis Swanepoel] *Mr. Speaker, the honorable state president, in the light of right-wing war talk and talk of alternative transitional structures by the Afrikaner National Front, one should take into account what peaceful and democratic options are available to right-wing Afrikaners to avoid conflict and resistance.*

[Speaker] *Honorable state president.*

[De Klerk] *Mr. Speaker, rightwing Afrikaners have always been in a privileged position of enjoying full democratic rights. Sir, they have set out their policy since the birth of the Conservative Party, and Sir, in two general elections and in two referendums they have suffered outright defeats, that is why Sir, the correct democratic option for rightwing Afrikaners would be to fall in with the majority and to take advantage of the new opportunities presented by this new constitution—which we negotiated—to promote their case. And Sir, a lot has been built into the constitution which makes their war talk irresponsible and unnecessary. Built into the constitution is the effective protection of the Afrikaans language, built in is the effective protection of the right to culturally oriented education, there is effective protection of a system of power-sharing which will effectively prevent power domination. Sir, there is entrenched therein real devolution of power to regions, and if you couple that which we are currently negotiating with the Freedom Alliance such as the possibility of looking with an open mind to reasonable proposals regarding borders for provinces, part states and the federal dispensation, the willingness, Sir, to look at the whole issue of how Clause 118 can be further handled, and other matters on the agenda on which progress is being made, then I say, Sir, that it is absolutely irresponsible to talk and incite emotions in a way that the Conservative Party is doing.*

[Speaker] *Mr. W.A. Botha, honorable member for Uitenhage.*

[Botha] *Mr. Speaker, in the light of the ANC’s record of not being trustworthy, and its lack of credibility as has in fact been pointed out by the state president here in Parliament on previous occasions when he said the ANC had in the past broken many agreements at that stage, and also as pointed out by the minister of law and order*

*earlier this year when he said that between 1 November 1991 and 18 March 1993 the ANC had violated national peace agreements 213 times, I therefore ask the honorable state president in which way you plan, Sir, to prevent the ANC from violating guarantees and promises instituted by you regarding state officials and private land ownership after the 27 April elections?*

[De Klerk] *If the honorable member and his party had not isolated themselves from the negotiation process and had been less occupied with inciting people and had made a thorough study of the constitution and of the constitutional agreements reached, he would have known the following: Firstly, Sir, that in no way do we rely on any promises or assurances from anybody, not even from the ANC. Sir, the rights of officials and many other issues can only be changed through a two-thirds majority; mechanisms have been created to ensure that no party within a government of national unity, no parliament—no matter with what majority whatsoever—can trample those entrenched basic issues or violate the law.*

[Botha] *In a future ANC-SACP government, despite all the measures just listed by the state president, how will the honorable state president get it right without the help of the South African Police and the Defense Force to implement...*

[De Klerk interrupting] *Any government, Sir, which tries to ignore a constitution, invites a confrontation on a vast scale, and that is why if any future government tried to ignore the constitution, tore it up and threw it in a paper basket, that government will have to accept the risk that through its unlawful action it would be creating a serious crisis in the country.*

**De Klerk Comments on Self-Determination, Talks**  
MB2311125093 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 1830 GMT 22 Nov 93

[Interview with President F.W. de Klerk by SABC political correspondent Freek Robinson in the parliamentary studio in Cape Town on the "Agenda" program—live]

[Text] [Robinson] Mr. President, you exchanged sharp words today in Parliament with Conservative Party [CP] leader Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg on the issue of the self-determination of peoples. We know that self-determination was the policy of the National Party [NP]. It is no longer NP policy, but there are still people who believe in it. Let us take a very practical example, following what Dr. Hartzenberg said. Bophuthatswana, an independent country, has to become part of the process. They do not wish to become part; they have said so. The ANC [African National Congress] says, and I quote, that the tanks must be sent in to force them. How are they going to be made part of the process?

[De Klerk] Well, first of all, for you to say that we have dropped the principle of self-determination is absolutely incorrect. There is no way we will refuse to recognize the

principle of the self-determination of peoples. It is a universal principle. But self-determination...

[Robinson, interrupting] Self-determination in an own independent homeland...

[De Klerk] Yes, but that's not what you said. You said the NP has distanced itself from self-determination, and that is wrong. Self-determination must be exercised within the reality of what is possible. Different peoples form the South African nation, and taking into account the fact of economic interdependence, and the fact that we live among one another, and that certain peoples do not have a traditional territory, and that independence did not work for certain peoples, we have to find a new way to exercise self-determination.

[Robinson] How will the Afrikaner achieve it?

[De Klerk] We believe it can best take place within the framework of federalism. One cannot try to give majority power artificially to a minority in an area. That is in conflict with all forms of democracy. That is why over a long period the NP went through a process of self-examination, and we decided that self-determination will have to be implemented in a different way. It will have to come about by means of protecting the language, a bill of rights, and assuring people that they can maintain their identity through education, and even through federalism, or devolution of power to regions. Where a group is strong in a region, they can, in cooperation with minorities in the area, find a way to accommodate their self-determination in their particular circumstances.

[Robinson] But no special state for a special people?

[De Klerk] No.

[Robinson] But that's what the CP is asking for. And that is what the Tswanas are asking for, through the present government.

[De Klerk] No. Let me say this about the Tswanas. If they say they simply wish to remain independent, why are they negotiating? Why are they part of the negotiation process? They are negotiating for a federation. On Friday night, and again today in Parliament, I said I understand that we are negotiating with the Freedom Alliance, and that our negotiations are based on the principle that there must be federalism in South Africa, and on find ways of further strengthening that federalism, in addition to what has already been agreed upon in the constitution adopted at Kempton Park. I was given two assenting answers. Bophuthatswana is, therefore, negotiating on the basis that they are considering entry into a federation of the Republic of South Africa.

My understanding is... [changes thought] This afternoon there was a denial, and that raises a serious question, that even the CP is prepared to negotiate on the basis of federalism. This afternoon in Parliament, Minister Meyer said that the document presented to him by the



Freedom Alliance, after he had spelled out the paramount importance of self-determination [preceding four words in English], referred to federalism, and not confederalism. So there seems to be a crisis of credibility at the moment. In some speeches the CP creates the impression that it is considering federalism; yet in the debate this afternoon the party said it rejects federalism. On the other hand, its allies in the Freedom Alliance are unequivocally in favor of federalism.

[Robinson] Mr. de Klerk, I do not wish to argue with you. We are merely clearing up some terminology here. If the government of Bophuthatswana says it stands for federalism, do they mean federalism within a greater South Africa, within a region where there are other people, or do they actually want to retain their present power base, just like kwaZulu?

[De Klerk] I am not Bophuthatswana's advocate. It is unfair to ask me to clarify their stance. Let me rather say how I see their point of view. The way I understand it, they first wish to see what this federal system will look like, before deciding whether they really wish to come along as a member state, or whether they wish to stand aside and not become part of it.

[Robinson] But that was the first question asked you, Mr. President. They have seen what it looks like, because that federalism, as you call it, was approved at the World Trade Center, and they reject it. So the question is, how are they going to be brought in?

[De Klerk] But you are ignoring the fact that our negotiations with the Freedom Alliance are still going on.

[Robinson interrupting] That is why I am asking, how are they going to...

[De Klerk continuing] And the negotiations with the Freedom Alliance—if one approaches it as problem-solving and settlement orientated—is to determine whether amendments are going to take place, and we tabled a four-point plan on how it could be improved. They listed more than four points in a document to us. This afternoon we sent them a document which also answers some of the points that they mentioned.

[Robinson] Could you elaborate on that?

[De Klerk] I want to say, if there is a settlement-centered approach, then there is still room which we helped to create at Kempton Park. Up to the last minute we want to bring about, I do not think they can be more than moderate changes, to that which was agreed on last week. And if we effect those changes, there could still be accommodation of specific problems relating to the Freedom Alliance. But we cannot change the essence of what has been agreed upon, because what has been agreed on represents what I have always stood for. I have never said I advocate a different form of confederalism. The National Party has always said it stands for interests. It doesn't stand for a weak central government and all the power on a regional level. It said certain things

belong to central level, and certain things belong to regional level, and in certain things there are grey areas left where understanding has to take place. That is exactly what this constitution achieves. In that sense then, this constitution complies with what we said in 1991, in the referendum. But we are prepared to be accommodating and look at what we can do to also make members of the Freedom Alliance part of this broader consensus which already represents the overwhelming majority of South Africans?

[Robinson] Mr. de Klerk I want to ask the question I asked at the beginning. What are you prepared to do?

[De Klerk] We have identified a few important issues. We are prepared to look at Article 118. If that could be done, further possible powers, possible rewording of the clause to make sure what I am sure we have already made sure, that Article 118, the fact that regions will have fundamental broad functions and that those functions, except in exceptional cases, will also be legislated to by the central government. I think Article 118 embraces all that. We are prepared to look at further possible improvements. We have already succeeded that the Senate, which is the special watchdog over regional interests, will have to bring forth a two-thirds majority to say yes to any new regulations, to any new constitution which concerns regional powers, regional functions, regional boundaries. We have already succeeded in introducing amendments as a result also of our negotiations with the Freedom Alliance; that regions, without approval from the central parliament, will be able to draw up their own laws. And finally, there is in that four-point plan an approach on our side to have an open mind on the negotiation of possible relocation of specific borders to fit in more with meaningful needs on how regional borders should look.

[Robinson] You said yourself that you are not completely satisfied with the constitution as it stands. I take it that one element thereof is that the devolution of power to the regions as you had initially seen it, did not materialize as such. You have generally said that you are prepared to see how it can be consolidated.

[De Klerk] I can absolutely live with how it is structured now.

[Robinson] Are you satisfied with it?

[De Klerk] In this sense that there is a wide spectrum of powers—all the powers that one would typically find in many federations belonging to the part states, to regional governments. They are entrenched. They can only be taken away with a two-thirds majority and the permission of the regions, and a new constitution can only be fiddled with separately from the Senate and the parliament, or modifications made. The constitution which the central government may make in those spheres, is subject to five qualifications, and in all five those qualifications, norms have been built so that if the central constitution became power hungry and wanted to interfere on the the level of provinces, the provinces

could fall back on the constitutional court to test whether those norms were being complied with. The norms being used are for instance on standards. It is necessary to lay down those standards. On the issue of the economy, that it will materially affect the interests of the economy as a whole. Norms have been built in and they are justifiable. There is also the assurance for regions that they can refer to a constitutional court in the event of a power hungry central government. We have to remember one very important thing. We are in the process of reforming a system which is basically a unitary system into a federal system. In many of these regions—and you cannot do it immediately—four or five or six existing second level administrations be melted together in one new civil service, new administration for that region. It has to be a process. It cannot happen overnight. That is why at this stage the concept of rivalry, but with limitation from the central government power, is reasonably sensible. And the principles, it is already being said, that any future constitution must make provisions for original powers, exclusive powers also for the regions.

[Robinson] Mr. de Klerk, I accept that you are still negotiating with the Freedom Alliance. If you wish to play your cards close to your chest and you don't wish to answer me, please say so. My question was, what more are you prepared to give to strengthen the regions?

[De Klerk] I mentioned four points to you, but I feel we are being far too technical tonight. It's not these technical issues which worry the people out there. What they want to know is: Will there be strong regional government; will their party get a majority in that region? And that majority differs from that of the central government. Will that central government be allowed to dictate to the regions? The simple answer to that is no. The regional functions have been identified, except in exceptional cases, the regions will be autonomous, will have exclusive control, and this cannot be taken away from them. These are the facts. If you ask me what more are we prepared to give, then it is for the Freedom Alliance to be articulate within the framework of their philosophy of federalism, and express what more it wants specifically. And as we have been negotiating, we are prepared to, in the process of give and take, to examine what we think can be reached, how to accommodate them, and what concessions we can make regarding their demands. We are also prepared, after they walked out of the Kempton Park negotiations, to go to the Negotiating Council, and if we are convinced their demands are worthwhile, reasonable, and fair, to further promote them there to see if we cannot reach overall consensus. Once we have that, we will introduce it into the constitution. The four points we identified focuses on—after our own analysis—on that which worried them the most, which is very significant, but we are also prepared to listen to other specific aspects, and this will be discussed tomorrow. And it's not that there is lack of so-called transparency, but negotiation through the media has never produced results.

[Robinson] I agree, but it is also important for our viewers. Mr. President, you will remember my very first question to you, the continuing negotiation process. Let's just say Chief Minister Buthelezi and President Mangope both say no, they are not going ahead with this process. I can quote Chief Buthelezi to you. Over the weekend he said he has been rejected, he has been betrayed by you. He will most likely have to take his own way through the wilderness, or maybe war. So what are you doing to bring them back into the system?

[De Klerk] Please do not try to burden me with wild and irresponsible utterances of ANC [as heard] spokespersons. We experienced a cultural change in South Africa. We are no longer fighting, or rather we no longer use security legislation against organizations. We act against law offenders. It is everyone's right to participate, or not to participate in an election. If they reject a reasonable and fair proposal within the framework of their policy and refuse to participate, I will not force them to take part, but if they make it part of their strategy to break the law, to use violence as an option, then they clash with the law, and we will act against any law offender, be it ANC, or IFP, or Bophuthatswana or CP.

[Robinson] One of the proposals, one of the decisions taken by negotiators at the World Trade Center, including yourself, is that the homelands, including Bophuthatswana for example, should be reincorporated into South Africa, and in other words, if you decide that they do not want to cooperate, and they lose their independent status, aren't they then acting against the law?

[De Klerk] Once again you are being technical, so let me give you a technical answer. It seems to me you need an advocate. The position of self-governing states is different, according to legislation, than that of independent states. Self-governing states are part of South Africa. And there will be no problems, but we do not want to act unilaterally. Changing the status of self-governing states will only take place after the elections. The position of independent states is much more complex. We are in the process of looking into that. I am not at all happy with unilateral actions. That list you identified will take place after the new constitution has been accepted, but regarding the independent states, we will have to be very careful how we handle the situation. There is another option, one is a unilateral option, but the other option is for them to remain as they are, but the result of that will be that relations between us could change dramatically.

[Robinson] And then you can cut off electricity and water, and then talk to them the following day. Mr. President, we hope as South Africans, that everyone in this country can find each other...; [De Klerk interrupting] We will talk in a positive manner. We are searching for solutions. We are honestly searching for solutions. I am worried that I have not been successful during my interaction with the Freedom Alliance.



[Robinson] Mr. State President thank you very much for your participation tonight. I hope we have cast some light on these complex matters. For the three weeks ahead everything of the best.

[De Klerk] Thank you.

[Robinson] From me goodbye.

### **CP Urges De Klerk To Halt Formation of TEC**

*MB0312111393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0912 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] House of Assembly December 3 SAPA—The state president, Mr F. W. de Klerk, should halt the process leading to formation of the Transitional Executive Council [TEC] because it could only end in disaster, Dr Willie Snyman (CP [Conservative Party] Pietersburg) said on Friday.

Dr Snyman, who was leading in a debate on the implementation of the TEC act, said it was his honest conviction that the reality of the threat of civil war should never be lost from sight. "Recognise the Afrikaner's right to self-determination on a fair portion of land in this subcontinent, or there will not be peace," he said.

In an apparent reference to the Nobel Peace Prize, Dr Snyman said Mr de Klerk was getting a "Judas reward" from the international community—a remark that he later withdrew on the order of the speaker. Mr de Klerk had become the willing servant of the ANC [African National Congress], the communists and the international community. Friday was the day that interested parties had to appoint representatives to the TEC, but the CP would not take part in this process.

It regarded the TEC as illegitimate and would not participate in an illegitimate government. "It was set up undemocratically. It is the result of a revolutionary process and we want nothing to do with it." The Afrikaner now stood before a final crossroads where he would have to choose between the survival of the volk [Afrikaner people] or slavery under an alien government.

The Afrikaner had to choose now for or against the volk, between light and darkness, between Christianity and anti-Christendom, between a Boerestaat [Boer state] comprising a fair portion of the larger South Africa, and a communist unitary state where there would be no place for the recognition of Afrikaner nationalism.

Recalling that he had presented Mr de Klerk with 30 pieces of silver earlier this year, Dr Snyman said President Paul Kruger had been the symbol of the freedom struggle of a small volk that would not bow to a foreign power. President Kruger had said he would rather lose his life than the freedom of his volk. "Now we stand before the cold fact that a week ago the state president handed over the freedom of his volk on a plate to the TEC."

Dr Snyman said the TEC was being rushed through, and should not be brought into being until either the total packet of transitional legislation, including the new constitution, had been accepted by parliament, or an agreement had been reached with the Freedom Alliance on the constitution.

He had been told by Afrikaner Volksfront [National Front—AVF] leader General Constand Viljoen that, at a Union Buildings meeting earlier this year, Mr de Klerk had given the AVF generals a solemn undertaking that the TEC would not be put into operation until the total legislative packet had been finalised to the satisfaction of all parties, including those not represented at Kempton Park.

"Is this true?" He asked. "No," interjected Mr de Klerk. "That is a distorted interpretation of what I said."

Dr Snyman said Mr de Klerk had broken "all promises and assurances". This step he had taken bore in it a serious conflict potential. The irony of the situation now was that the president had warned the CP last week that it was playing with fire, and had said it was threatening war in order to revive apartheid.

If everything went wrong and the Afrikaner did begin shooting it would not be to restore apartheid, Dr Snyman said.

The danger was that Afrikaners could find themselves shooting at other Afrikaners fighting to protect the interests of the ANC and the communists.

The CP was still prepared to talk and negotiate on the self-determination rights of "Boere-Afrikaners".

### **DP Responds to CP Stand**

*MB0312114493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0939 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] House of Assembly December 3 SAPA—South Africa's future did not lie in turning it into a Bosnia-Herzegovina, Mr Colin Eglin (DP [Democratic Party] Sea Point) said on Friday.

Speaking in the debate on the TEC [Transitional Executive Council], he said it had been 11 years since the Conservative Party [CP] was formed yet, according to party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, the boundaries of its proposed volkstaat [Afrikaner state] had yet to be established.

The CP had done "sweet blow-all" about the idea because they rather liked the old South Africa where the white man was baas [boss] and the Afrikaner played a major role. The new constitution would guarantee the rights of Afrikaners just as it would the rights of all other South Africans.

It would allow for religious, cultural and linguistic rights. What it would not allow was for an ethnic or cultural group to claim a territorial base, and there to discriminate against other South Africans. "From our side we

recognise the the sensitivity of religious, cultural and linguistic diversity. But we do not believe the future of South Africa lies in turning it into a Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Mr Eglin said he had listened to the CP's first speaker, Dr Willie Snyman, with a "tinge of sadness". At a time that South Africa was on the point of moving ahead to new democratic greatness, the CP was almost deliberately committing itself to becoming prisoners of the past and denying itself the opportunity to participate in the future. "I am very sad to find there are people in South Africa who instead of responding to the challenge are running away... From the reality."

Responding to Dr Snyman's claim that the TEC legislation had been arrived at in an undemocratic manner, Mr Eglin said the new constitution had been negotiated more democratically than any of South Africa's preceding constitutions.

While Dr Snyman saw it was the "end product of revolution", the DP saw it was the product of a process of liberation.

He believed this was liberation for whites and Afrikaners as well as people of other colours. In the past, whites had been captives of ideology and were "not full South Africans".

#### **IFP Central Committee Issues Press Statement on TEC**

*MB2811204393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2014  
GMT 28 Nov 93*

[SAPA PR Wire Service issued by: Office of the Chief Minister of Kwazulu Press Statement: "Central Committee Meeting Sunday, November 28, 1993"]

[Text] The Central Committee of the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] accepts that education and the acquiring of technical and scientific skills is a major priority for the future development of South Africa and this is a universally accepted fact. In the light of this, the Central Committee expresses its astonishment at the decision of the government to impose a 20 per cent import surcharge on all imported books. It is obvious that such a drastic increase in import surcharges will be extremely detrimental to education and the advancement of learning generally.

The IFP demands that there be an immediate withdrawal of this regressive tax.

This meeting of the Central Committee of the IFP deplores the signing and gazetting of the Transitional Executive Council [TEC] Act by the state president on Friday, November 26 in breach of solemn undertakings by the state president which reflected the resolution adopted by the negotiating council of June 30, 1993 which provided, inter alia, that there would be no

implementation of any aspect of the transition until a constitution and all the attending bills had been approved as a package.

Of particular concern is the fact that this action was taken on the eve of this crucial meeting of the Central Committee and the resumption of bilateral negotiations between the Freedom Alliance and the South African Government on Monday, 29th November.

Notwithstanding the fact that the IFP was not party to the formulation of the powers and objectives of the TECs, nor was it party to its adoption, and having now studied the text of the TEC Act, the IFP rejects it totally. The Central Committee considers that this alone would justify the Inkatha Freedom Party refusing to participate in the election scheduled for April 27, 1994.

The Central Committee of the IFP resolves as follows: 1. That in order to recommend participation in the elections on April 27, 1994 to a special general conference, the following minimum demands must be substantially met. —the acceptance of the current Freedom Alliance wording of Clause 118 dealing with the division of power between state governments and a future central federal government; —the Freedom Alliance wording of Clause 121 which deals with the funding of states which is sufficient to exercise the powers given to them as autonomous powers by the constitution; —the scrapping of the clause in the draft constitution which requires that future amendments to the constitutions of states by their own legislatures in accordance with their own laid down procedure and special majorities, should be submitted to the constitutional assembly for approval; —the amendment of the draft constitution to give all states an initial pro-forma constitution containing all provisions related to state governments which could be amended autonomously, as each state adapts to its own circumstances, to produce the necessary principle of asymmetry; —the scope for final formulation of a principle for self-determination suitable to the fact that South Africa is a plural society. —the adoption of the normal internationally accepted procedure of two-thirds majority and specified majorities for amendment of the constitution and the abandonment of deadlock-breaking mechanisms. The Central Committee instructs its negotiating teams to continue negotiations only within the parameters of the above demands.

#### **Mandela Rally in Rustenburg Canceled**

*MB0212153393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1520  
GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Rustenburg Dec 2 SAPA—A rally at a sports centre in the western Transvaal town of Rustenburg—due to have been addressed early Thursday evening by Nelson Mandela—was cancelled late in the afternoon. People at the stadium—both ANC [African National Congress] supporters and security force personnel—were not immediately certain who had cancelled the rally.

A police officer at the stadium, speaking unofficially, said he doubted the ANC had obtained proper permission to hold the rally.

Rustenburg, home to large numbers of conservative whites, was earlier declared an unrest area. A heavy security force presence was observed in the town. No immediate incidents had been reported, however.

A banquet in the town due to be addressed by Mr Mandela later Thursday night would go ahead as planned, reporters were told by ANC officials.

Police were seen stopping a group of ANC supporters making their way to the stadium, telling them the rally had been cancelled.

#### **ANC Economist Tito Mboweni Lauds U.S. Secretary's Visit**

*MB0312085793 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 0500 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] The ANC's [African National Congress] chief economist, Mr. Tito Mboweni, says the recent visit to South Africa by American Commerce Secretary Ron Brown has cemented the relationship between the United States and key players in the post-apartheid state.

Mr. Mboweni said in Johannesburg that the visit had been extremely important, and it showed that the Clinton administration was willing and able to help South Africa. He said Mr. Brown had discussed the possibility of South Africa receiving easier access to American markets through preferential trade status.

#### **ANC, IFP Exchange Blame for Bhamayi Massacre**

*MB0212145793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1250 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Durban Dec 2 SAPA—Ten people were killed in the Bhambayi shack settlement north of Durban on Wednesday, and the African National Congress [ANC] blamed security forces and its rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Police spokesman Maj Bala Naidoo said nine people were killed in separate attacks, while the Human Rights Commission said nine people were killed in White City, and another in the Congo area.

ANC spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said ANC members were "brutally murdered by elements of the Internal Stability Unit and supporters of the IFP at Congo in Bhambayi".

Maj Naidoo dismissed the ANC claim, saying: "The ANC is aware of (the) Goldstone (Commission), it is aware of the peace accord, and it is aware of the regional dispute resolution committees.

"It must bring evidence to these bodies to be tested in court, within a reasonable time, or else we must dismiss it as propaganda," he said.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said: "Without the facts at my disposal it's very difficult to say what happened, but we are quite used to these knee-jerk reactions from the ANC". He said the IFP was investigating the deaths and "would be very interested to see what evidence they (the ANC) have to substantiate their claims".

More than 250 people have died in Bhambayi since conflict broke out late last year. Much of the fighting has been blamed on the red and green gangs, supporters of the ANC and IFP respectively.

#### **Mandela Says Government Not Committed to Reincorporation**

*MB0312084393 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 0500 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] ANC [African National Congress] President Nelson Mandela says the government is not committed to reincorporating the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states into South Africa.

Speaking at a fund raising dinner in Rustenburg, Mr. Mandela said that it was argued by Mr. de Klerk that although the government could influence these states, it had no right to interfere. He said President de Klerk should ensure that free political activity be achieved in the TBVC states.

[Begin Mandela recording] They just do not have the decisiveness, the strength, the force to be able to pressurize these little states to join South Africa. So there is a situation where we have to accept that it's not going to be possible for us to have free political activity in these areas because of the conspiracy between the Mangopes, the Buthelezis, the Xhosas and the National Party of Mr. de Klerk. [end recording]

Mr. Mandela also said the ANC was still trying to convince the Freedom Alliance to join the negotiation process. He said that three different meetings with General Constand Viljoen had not changed the alliance leader's mind. Mr. Mandela made it clear that he was against the idea of a Volkstaat [national state] as this would only be a continuation of the homeland system. He added that the ANC would not stand for right wingers who stayed on the fringe of the negotiations process threatening everyone with civil war.

The Negotiation Council has meanwhile decided unanimously that TBVC citizens would be eligible for South African citizenship from the first of January next year.

#### **Ciskei Says Reincorporation Will Not Weaken Homeland**

*MB0312090393 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] The Ciskeian government says the decision by the multiparty negotiating forum to restore South African citizenship to the people of independent homelands on



the first of next year will not weaken the independence of Ciskei. It said in a statement that the only practical effect of the Kempton Park draft was that it would permit TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] citizens to vote at any polling station within South Africa, irrespective of whether or not their own states took part in the election.

Earlier, Ciskei announced that it would not take part in the election in April. The bill approved by the Negotiating Council also provides that the TBVC states be reincorporated into South Africa on April the 27th.

The ANC [African National Congress] has described the decision to restore South African citizenship to the people of the independent homelands as a slap in the face for Ciskei. Border ANC spokesman Thebisi Bata said the reincorporation of the TBVC states was a mere formality because the homelands would not have any citizens after the election and that a state could not exist without citizens.

#### **Bophuthatswana Negotiator Comments on Citizenship Law**

*MB0212134193 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Bophuthatswana has described the Negotiating Council's decision that citizens of the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states can become citizens on the first of next month as a sensible step for those countries wanting to be reincorporated into South Africa. The country's chief negotiator, Mr. Rowan Cronje, said that if his country's parliament did not ratify the decision, then Bophuthatswana could not legally be reincorporated. However, Mr. Cronje welcomed the fact that Tswana speakers could not automatically claim Bophuthatswana citizenship. Bophuthatswana is opposed to reincorporation with South Africa.

Mr. Cronje's reaction follows the Negotiating Council's unanimous acceptance this morning of a bill on the restoration of South African citizenship to citizens of the TBVC countries from the 1st of next month. The council also agreed that the countries would be reincorporated on April the 27th, election day, when the transitional constitution came into effect. The constitution has been virtually finalized by the Negotiating Council, but some aspects will be discussed further at a meeting in Cape Town on Monday. Earlier Ciskei indicated that it was also opposed to reincorporation.

#### **Freedom Alliance To Achieve Objectives by Peaceful Means**

*MB0212201593 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1939 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Ulundi Dec 2 SAPA—The Freedom Alliance will do everything in its power to ensure that its objectives are achieved through peaceful means, Inkatha Freedom

Party [IFP] President Mangosuthu Buthelezi said after an alliance meeting in Ulundi on Wednesday. This is according to a statement issued to SAPA after the four-hour meeting, held ahead of a alliance/government summit scheduled for Friday in Pretoria.

According to the statement, alliance members remained tight-lipped after their meeting about the constitutional proposals they would be putting to the government on Friday.

Alliance chairman Rowen Cronje however reaffirmed the alliance's rejection of the draft constitution and the transitional executive council, the statement said.

SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] TV news earlier reported the role of the self-governing territories was discussed at the alliance meeting. Reacting to the negotiating council's decision to reincorporate the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states into South Africa and grant their residents South African citizenship, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Mr Cronje said there were no legal means to incorporate the homeland without its parliament enacting the decision.

A Ciskei spokesman said the council's decision would not affect Ciskei's independence.

The TV report said Thursday's alliance meeting was aimed at resolving internal differences ahead of its summit with the government.

#### **Armcor Reported Planning for Lifting of Arms Embargo**

*MB0212201693 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1905 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 2 SAPA—South Africa's arms procurement giant Armcor [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] has taken steps to prepare for the new South Africa, the Engineering News reports. In line with the expected lifting of the arms embargo, the corporation has abandoned its previous objective of promoting South Africa's self-sufficiency in development and production of arms. Now, locally developed systems will be chosen only when it makes good business sense or if they offer operational advantages from a military viewpoint, the magazine reports.

It says Armcor has drawn up guidelines providing for procurement from overseas of a variety of weapon systems, including fighter and transport aircraft, submarines and combat vessels.

Strategic arms systems such as air force weapons, armoured cars, artillery, avionics, radar and communications systems will be sourced locally, while items such as helicopters, light aircraft, tanks and small calibre ammunition will be procured locally or overseas on a competitive basis.

Armcor's senior manager of planning Dr Andre Buys says the corporation has adopted a formal policy of countertrade for all foreign deals. Its current portfolio of countertrade contracts amounts to about R[Rand]1 billion.

Dr Buys says Armcor will maintain "selective self-sufficiency" in particularly vulnerable areas such as communication and electronic warfare.

### **Polls Indicate Preference for Future Leadership**

#### **Businessmen Prefer Mandela**

*MB0312084293 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 0500 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] A recent survey conducted for the South African Chamber of Business the WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN and TV 1's Agenda, has shown that 68 percent of top business people would prefer Mr. Mandela as state president. Thirty-two percent voted for President de Klerk while Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was not selected by any of the respondents.

The survey also showed that most of South Africa's business people are optimistic about business prospects under an ANC [African National Congress] led government. Eighty seven percent of those surveyed felt that the present outlook for business was improving.

#### **Multiracial, Centrist Party Preferred**

*MB0212145893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1242 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Johannesburg Dec 2 SAPA—A study of the political perceptions of pre-election South Africa has shown 74 per cent of respondents might support a new, multi-racial, centrist party. The study, undertaken by market research company Interfact, canvassed the opinions of about 400 South Africans over the age of 18.

Of the respondents, Asians and white were more unsure about their intention to vote than their black and coloured counterparts.

While support for President F W de Klerk was highest among whites (52 per cent) and Asians (54 per cent), this did not translate into support for the National Party [NP], with only 35 per cent of whites and three per cent of Asians saying they would vote NP.

Interfact found the ANC [African National Congress] was the most popular party, with 44 per cent of respondents most likely to cast their ballot in its favour.

Overwhelming support for peace, religious freedom and prosperity was recorded, while political concepts such as federalism and self-determination ranked lower in the order of priorities. "One of the most interesting results of the study was that respondents in the eastern Cape, northern Transvaal and the Orange Free State felt they

had to vote for their present political party as there was a lack of alternatives," said Interfact.

### **South African Press Review for 3 December**

*MB0312131793*

[Editorial Report]

#### **THE CITIZEN**

'Awful Rush' at Negotiations—Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English on 2 December in its page 6 editorial doesn't like the "awful rush" to get the interim constitution and other issues passed in the Negotiating Council. "We already see the serious repercussions from the hastily negotiated interim constitution, with growing misgivings over the one-ballot-paper decision. If one looks at what is happening, one can only shake one's head in amazement. The inclusive negotiations have become a government-ANC [African National Congress] affair. This is not what was intended."

#### **THE STAR**

State Subsidies for Sasol—Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in English on 3 December in a page 3 editorial believes a reaction of "outrage" to the headlines that subsidies are likely to be paid to the South African Coal, Oil and Gas Corporation, Sasol, is understandable. Sasol might well have been established on economic principles that were "less than fully sound," but its subsequent development has made it "an integral part of South Africa's industrial base. Its decline would have significant effects way beyond its own factory gates." BUSINESS DAY believes Sasol "should continue to receive state subsidies on a declining basis while it phases out production of synfuels. The subsidies could be seen as a form of investment in improved efficiencies rather than as an unjustified prop for profits."

#### **SOWETAN**

ANC 'Airs' of Government-in-Waiting—"President F.W. de Klerk was at pains to explain in Parliament this week that the ANC is not a government-in-waiting," notes a page 12 editorial in Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 3 December. "He should tell that to the ANC's NEC [National Executive Committee] members who already have the airs and bearing of Ministers—and probably their pin-stripe suits on order too. For instance, how does FW explain the ANC's economics spokesman Trevor Manuel hovering at Finance Minister Derek Keys' shoulder whenever he signs an international financial agreement? What is certain is that the NP [National Party] is a government-in-exit."

#### **CAPE TIMES**

Afrikaner State 'Pipe Dream'—Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 1 December in a page 8 editorial finds it difficult to "take the Afrikaner Volksfront [National Front] and its unilateral declaration of independence seriously." The boundaries of the propo-



independent Afrikaner state have yet to be defined and the proposed Afrikaners-only election "would be a transparent farce." An independent and viable Afrikaner state "remains a pipe dream, even if the factions on the right could agree on its boundaries, on the definition of an Afrikaner and on the rights of non-Afrikaners within those boundaries."

#### WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN

Criticism of Court Judgment—"By upholding the appeal of General Lothar Neethling against VRYE WEEKBLAD and THE WEEKLY MAIL, the highest court in the land has endorsed one of the primary forms of censorship of the 1980s: charges of libel from state officials using state finances to attack critical media," declares a page 18 editorial in Johannesburg WEEKLY MAIL & GUARDIAN in English for 3-9 December. "Astonishingly, the judges did not exonerate the police deputy-commissioner who had been accused of supplying poison to official hit-squads: 'This was one of those relatively rare cases in which the probabilities were evenly balanced,' the court said." Because the judges could not, with "any degree of confidence," say who was telling the truth, they had to find for the plaintiff. The paper believes the court has "dealt a serious blow to freedom of expression, revealing the highest court in the land to be out of step with a Bill of Rights culture and not ready for the robust free expression and press expose that is an intrinsic part of democracy."

#### \* MK, SADF Study Defense Policy in Germany

94AF0025B Cape Town THE ARGUS in English  
21 Oct 93 p 4

[Text] JOHANNESBURG—A joint delegation of the government, Defence Force, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and the Inkatha Freedom Party has returned to South Africa after studying defence policy issues in Germany.

The 22-strong party—which included Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach and Deputy Chief of the Army F.A. Botha—spent 11 days studying civil-military relations, military discipline, integration of armies into a central force, and regional security structures.

Particular emphasis was placed on a study of the joint German-French brigade which serves with the Nato forces with a view to the establishment of South Africa's own joint command national peacekeeping force.

The purpose of the visit was to obtain information on the German concept of the "citizen in uniform and moral and responsible leadership", a spokesman for the organisers, the Institute for Defence Policy and the Hanns Seidel Foundation of Germany, said yesterday.

The delegation included police and military officers from Kwazulu, Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

## Angola

### UNITA Demand Reportedly Complicates Talks

*MB0212203193 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 1900 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] The search for peace in Lusaka has suffered a setback. Yet another meeting was held today between government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] delegations, but there was no sign of progress. Our correspondents say the problem is due to complications created by UNITA. The military teams met this afternoon. UNITA reiterated its position that it will not hand over its weapons to the United Nations while its forces (?report) to assembly points.

Undoubtedly, UNITA has been pushed into a corner. The black cockerel movement has no option but to abide by UN resolutions. A source close to the talks said the government delegation wants the United Nations to disarm UNITA forces as these are confined to assembly points, in line with the Bicesse Accord. UNITA insists that its troops should first be confined to assembly points, and disarmed afterwards. This would make it difficult for the United Nations to control UNITA's weapons. Actually, UNITA's positions contravene UN resolutions.

UNITA's position is merely designed to hinder the talks. So, the ball is in UNITA's court—either it complies with UN resolutions, or additional sanctions will be applied by the Security Council. UN sources have admitted the possibility of additional sanctions being applied to UNITA if this organization continues to hinder the talks by 15 December, when the Security Council is scheduled to meet in New York.

A plenary session will be held tomorrow. It will be a make or break meeting.

### Further on UNITA Demand

*MB0212205393 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Report from Lusaka by correspondent Elias Andre]

[Text] As time goes by, it becomes difficult to comment on the peace talks between government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. Sources are very scarce and reports are often contradictory. Some say the talks were not going well a few days ago, but that today things have improved. Those more careful prefer the old saying: Seeing is believing. But others make no comment.

Today, UNITA rejected the proposal submitted by the observers regarding the implementation of the cease-fire, the general principles of which have already been dealt with. Now, UNITA says it will only disarm its army once its forces have been demobilized. Moreover, UNITA says its generals and officers, including those who have abandoned the armed forces, will only reintegrate and

join the armed forces after all its soldiers have been completely demobilized or integrated into the new army. That means UNITA intends to keep its general staff in place right up to the end. In addition to that, UNITA says its (?weapons) should be controlled by the United Nations.

In order to overcome this obstacle, the mediators and observers will draft a document this evening to be submitted to a plenary session tomorrow.

### Differences on Cease-Fire Prevail

*MB0312083793 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] The Angolan peace talks between the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] have not yet made progress. The military commissions met in the Zambian capital yesterday but did not reach a consensus. All the same, a plenary session will be held today, which will be crucial in determining the future of the Lusaka peace talks. Our correspondent Alberto de Sousa reports.

Good morning, listeners! A plenary session will be held today. The delegations from the government and UNITA will have another plenary session today, which is considered by observers here in Lusaka as being decisive to conclude discussions on the first point in the working agenda—the cease-fire.

The military commissions which met yesterday did not reach the necessary consensus and decided to postpone one of the principal points of disagreement to today's plenary session. This point is connected with the collection and storage of UNITA weapons, under UN custody, after the confinement of its troops.

According to a source close to the negotiations, the government delegation favors UNITA's disarmament by the United Nations during the confining period, while the Black Cockerel's movement continues to favor first confinement and then disarmament.

The government's stand is in accordance with the terms of the Bicesse Accord. Accordingly, this means that UNITA does not want to hand its weapons to the United Nations while it is confined. UNITA is once again defending stands which contradict the Bicesse Accord. Accordingly, it is expected that the plenary session will be characterized by serious debates.

This is the 19th day of the peace talks. Time is moving by without substantial results having been obtained so far. There are still four points to be discussed by the negotiating teams. As a matter of fact, a source said here in the Zambian capital yesterday that the only thing that is being observed is delay. Let us see what will happen in the next few hours.

### Foreign Minister Returns From Talks

*MB0312071693 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Foreign Minister Venancio de Moura returned home from Lusaka this evening. Speaking to our reporter, he noted the talks between government and UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] are shrouded in secrecy.

[Begin recording] [Moura] The talks are being held behind closed doors. No public statements have been made in the interest of the peace process which is not as easy as one may think. So, there are no reports. I would like people to understand the situation and refrain from divulging any details. We will meet with the media to brief it on developments. What I can say is that talks continue in an atmosphere of understanding, though palpable results have not been achieved.

[Reporter] How do you interpret the impasse at the talks?

[Moura] I do not think there is an impasse. So far there is no impasse. Talks are continuing. We do not know when a political agreement will be reached.

[Reporter] I hope you understand that our profession forces us to insist on certain issues. Were you able to assess the mood of Alioune Blondin Beye, UN special representative in Angola?

[Moura] We could say without being overoptimistic that Chief Beye is now tackling the Angolan issue with greater knowledge. That is the view of our delegation and the observers.

[Reporter] Do you think the talks will continue until the end of the month?

[Moura] I do not know. You cannot ask someone who is in detention whether he wants to be free today or tomorrow. We would rather have peace right now. That has been the position upheld by our government. Obviously, we do not want peace at any price. Peace should be achieved on the basis of existing principles. We are working on that basis.

[Reporter] So, optimism prevails.

[Moura] Optimism, but one should be careful as well. Seeing is believing, is how we also approach the situation. [end recording]

### Mozambique

#### Government, Renamo Soldiers Gather at 20 Assembly Points.

*MB0212172393 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1600 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Hundreds of Mozambican Government soldiers and former rebel Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] guerrillas have gathered at assembly points to hand

over their firearms to UN peace keepers. A United Nations official said in Maputo that so far about 800 men from both sides had arrived at 20 assembly points set up and officially opened throughout the country this week.

Under the overall plan of the UN operation in Mozambique an estimated 62,000 government and 20,000 Renamo soldiers should go to the assembly points and hand over their weapons to the UN peace keepers before the end of this month. About 15,000 men from each side will be selected for a new unified defense force and the rest will be demobilized.

#### UN Records Troop Assembly

*MB0212205693 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1730 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] The UN Operations in Mozambique [Unomoz] has already recorded the arrival of 239 Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] men at Niassa Province's Mavago assembly point. There are reports that 150 Renamo men arrived at the Mohiua assembly point, Zambezia Province.

A total of 450 government troops reported to Namialo assembly point, Nampula Province. A UN Operations in Mozambique [Unomoz] official today toured a number of assembly points. He said there could be difficulties in receiving soldiers, particularly in Mavago, due to the small number of tents available.

The confinement of government and Renamo troops began on 1 December.

#### Ajello Praises Government, Renamo

*MB0212133493 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Aldo Ajello, special representative of the UN secretary general in Mozambique, has congratulated troops from the government and the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] for implementing the cease-fire. The head of the UN mission in Mozambique congratulated the two parties in a message he issued to salute the beginning of the confinement of troops from both sides yesterday. Aldo Ajello said he is happy to say that the reestablishment of peace in Mozambique is a concern which has been seriously assumed by officials from the government, Renamo, and political parties, and the people in general.

#### Deputy Asks Government To Stop Making Concessions to Renamo

*MB0212133693 Maputo Radio Maputo in English 1100 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] One of Mozambique's most prominent intellectuals Sergio Vieira has demanded that the government must stop making concessions to the former rebel Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] movement in implementing the peace process. Mr. Vieira was



speaking in a lengthy debate yesterday in the country's parliament, the Assembly of Republic, on the implementation of the peace process in Mozambique.

Deputies were discussing a hard written report presented on Tuesday [30 November] by the government's chief negotiator Armando Guebuza which blamed Renamo for the delays in the peace process. Mr. Guebuza demanded that the international community takes measures to force to rebels to honor the promises they had made.

Mr. Vieir, a who held several government positions in the past, including the agriculture and security ministries, said that Renamo was still not allowing freedom of movement or of political activity in areas it controls.

The country's assembly is to debate the future electoral law. The assembly will also discuss, among other issues, economic and social life in Mozambique.

#### **Renamo Leader Dhlakama's 'Preelection' Tour Assessed**

*MB0112172793 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 1 Dec 93*

[Text] Afonso Dhlakama, leader of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], ends his tour of two southern Mozambican provinces today. He was scheduled to hold a rally in the city of Inhambane this morning. He has already been to the city of Xai-Xai. This was an opportunity which enabled him to test his movement's acceptance in areas where, analysts believe, the Mozambique Liberation Front [Frelimo] Party enjoys most support. Our reporter Edmundo Galiza Matos comments briefly on what he describes as the Renamo leader's preelection experiment:

The Renamo leader must have learned many things, the first of which—and perhaps the most important one—was that for him and his movement to move forward steadily, they will have to do so on their own feet. In other words, Renamo must throw away once and for all the crutches it has been leaning on all along. It was no accident that Dhlakama told me in the city of Inhambane yesterday morning that Armando Guebuza was right when he once said that, quote, Renamo is beginning to walk on its own feet, unquote. This is a truth which came to the surface during the Renamo leader's tour of Gaza and Inhambane Provinces. It is possible that Renamo's organizational machinery functions wonderfully on one of its gears, notably the political gear. Politically, on the basis of what (?I witnessed) on 26 November, the Renamo movement is extraordinarily capable in the field of improvisation when it comes to the very sensitive area of communication with people. [sentence as heard]

Dhlakama's direct helpers did not have the slightest idea about organizational work of this kind when they set out for this visit to Gaza and Inhambane Provinces. They displayed a mixture of naivete and arrogance when

dealing with Renamo's members, supporters and potential voters of the future. They showed a complete lack of knowledge about urban people's political perceptions at this stage. Those people are fed up with being treated like brutish masses who can be told anything.

I believe that Dhlakama's first major mistake was to view the political awareness of the urban electorate and the electorate in so-called Renamo-controlled areas in the same framework. He told the Mozambican and international media that he would travel by road to witness that the war was indeed over. This might have been a great victory for Dhlakama and it might have had an impact on the upcoming elections. Then he did precisely the contrary, he traveled aboard a helicopter. Thus, he lied publicly to the Mozambican and international communities. This is serious. The fact that his strongly armored Mercedes Benz accompanied him to the cities of Inhambane and Xai-Xai was seen by local analysts as a childish attempt to convince the people of a status he does not have in this country. He thinks that there are two presidents in this territory: Chissano and Dhlakama. However, it seems that no one has fallen for that, particularly in a province such as Gaza where Chissano—for reasons we are all only too well aware of—will go on being president of the Republic for some time.

Some people went so far as to say that the Mercedes Benz ploy might have been successful in Maringue. There, the people would have been convinced that the war had indeed ended since their leader had exchanged a motorcycle for a luxurious car.

Some of this speculation is mine, but still on the issue of the strongly armored Mercedes Benz, some people have said that some of Dhlakama's direct associates continue to be morbidly worried about their leader's physical security. They are convinced that there are internal forces who would have not have been too saddened by their leader's death. The result is that Dhlakama is surrounded by a rigid and arrogant escort which deprives him of more direct and personal contacts with his sympathizers and members. This is what happened when he visited the new Dhlakama market in the city of Xai-Xai. He went there in his Mercedes, bought some small things and dismissed four-wheel drive open vehicles from which he might have been able to greet his sympathizers and, as befits a political leader, talk to them during his tour of the city. Dhlakama could very well have traveled between Inhambane and Maxixe aboard a ferryboat [preceding word in English]. Instead, he flew aboard an helicopter. Not only did he lose an excellent opportunity to stage a minor electoral show [preceding word in English], he also made most of the people attending the rally think about the helicopter taking off when his speech was over.

Nonetheless, by way of conclusion, let me issue fair warning to the future partners of Renamo President Afonso Marceta Macacho Dhlakama that they should not allow themselves to grow complacent, to sleep in the

shade. This former rebel has supporters and will still pull many more people over to his side. Dhlakama has at least one thing in his favor: he is friendly and well mannered when he addresses a crowd. The fact that he is a new figure on Mozambique's political stage—with figures there already eroded by time and mistakes—makes Dhlakama worth considering voting for. That is no small thing. After these visits to Gaza and Inhambane Provinces, and with the errors made, it is now up to Renamo to learn the necessary lessons and consider what image it wants to present to the public so it can continue to be a political force with an important voice on the Mozambican stage.

Dhlakama did very well in Maxixe yesterday afternoon. How successful was he in the city of Inhambane this morning? I just hope he did not go to the Ferroviario soccer field by helicopter.

#### **Armed Soldiers Invade World Vision Warehouses in Mutarara**

*MB0312071493 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0400 GMT 3 Dec 93*

[Text] On 27 November, a group of at least 10 government soldiers, carrying firearms, invaded the offices and residences of the World Vision monitors in Mutarara, Tete Province, demanding food. Radio Mozambique in Tete says that a World Vision report reveals that the soldiers seized 50 bags of corn, eight bags of beans, and 10 boxes of cooking oil.

The soldiers claimed they had not had food in the barracks for the past three weeks and accused nongovernmental organizations in Mutarara of only assisting Mozambique National Resistance's [Renamo] men. As a result of the incident, the offices and warehouses of the World Vision organization in Mutarara have been closed down and its personnel sent to the provincial capital for security reasons.

The provincial military commander said all he knows is that the soldiers went to the offices of nongovernmental organizations in Mutarara to request food. He admitted that the soldiers lacked food in the barracks and that they have not been receiving food supplies and salaries for a long time.

#### **Swaziland**

#### **ANC, IFP Deny Recruiting Swazis for Political Parties**

*MB3011103593 Mbabane THE SWAZI OBSERVER in English 30 Nov 93 pp 1, 2*

[Report by Bhekile Matsebula]

[Text] The African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) yesterday denied having recruited local Swazis to join their political parties with the aim of boosting their membership to win the oncoming general elections.

Spokesman for the ANC and IFP, Mr Themba Rubushe and Dr Bonginkosi Jiyane respectively said it was impossible for their organizations to recruit Swazis because they cannot secure identity cards, let alone South African citizenship which is a prerequisite for all voters to participate in the forth-coming general elections in South Africa.

Mr Rubushe said in a telephone interview yesterday that the ANC saw no reason why it should start now recruiting Swazis to join it because "we could have done that during the time the struggle was still hot. Even if we can think of recruiting them, how would they vote in the elections because they do not have South African citizenship? How would we secure identity cards for them because we are not responsible for issuing these? The whole thing is funny. But I cannot blame anybody because this has been linked to the campaigns by certain groups who are out to smear the name of the ANC," Mr Rubushe said.

Mr Rubushe said the ANC had been accused of allegedly using Swaziland as a springboard in the smuggling of arms of war from Mozambique to South Africa. He said these accusations came from the IFP.

However, the IFP spokesman, Dr Jiyane said his organization was going to investigate the allegations that Swazis had been recruited into the party. "But this is against the policy of the IFP, I must assure you. The IFP is in good terms with the Swaziland Government and we are going to investigate the allegations and if it is found that they are true, I will come back to you," Dr Jiyane said.

An OBSERVER investigations team was over the weekend told that the two parties were recruiting Swazis living close to the border line in Phongola, Hlushwana and Iluti areas. The targeted group, it was alleged, was the youth.



## Cote d'Ivoire

### Calls for Unity Expose 'Divisions' Within Ruling Party

AB0212195093 Paris AFP in French 1019 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Abidjan, 2 Dec (AFP)—According to observers, the calls for unity made yesterday by protagonists in the Ivorian political crisis have paradoxically exposed profound divisions within the Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire-African Democratic Rally.

Each of those who wish to succeed President Houphouet-Boigny have attempted individually to garner the support of party activists for various controversial projects. These "Legalists" and "legitimists" have taken care not to neglect any form of support by leaving open options to the opposition. [passage omitted].

The only central personality in the crisis to have remained silent is Alassane Ouattara, who did not attend either of yesterday's two meetings. According to reliable sources, he is serene and determined to carry out, to the end, the task of economic recovery he engaged himself in since his nomination three years ago. Given the time needed to carry out this task and the difficult relations that he has with Henri Konan Bedie, such a position would rather tend to make him Gregoire Philippe Yace's ally.

The open nature that the crisis now has taken is causing serious concern in diplomatic circles, with the most pessimistic predicting a rapid deterioration in the situation. This is especially so since no one knows today what the attitude of the Ivorian Army and security forces would be if such a deteriorating situation occurred.

### Official Says No Power Vacuum Exists

AB0312140293 Paris AFP in French 1154 GMT 3 Dec 93

[Text] Abidjan, 3 Dec (AFP)—The Ivorian Government headed by Prime Minister Alassane Ouattara is determined to fully assume its responsibilities without allowing itself to be distracted by the political turmoil triggered by President Houphouet-Boigny's serious illness. In fact, a source close to the prime minister's office pointed out today that contrary to what the current agitation may tend to indicate, the head of state is not dead and there is no power vacuum since the prime minister is deputizing for him.

According to the same source, the "Old Man," who is 88, is getting "better and better" and is apparently poised to belie the prognosis of the doctors who believe his end is imminent. Although the source did not envisage the possibility of his resuming his activities, it rejected the idea of a "Tunisian-style" scenario [with the head of state being deposed for incapacitation] and categorically ruled out the possibility of declaring a power vacuum. This is because of "emotional" considerations as well as the reactions that such a move would spark off among the political class, the people, and the military.

After ruling out such a possibility, the source angrily condemned in very strong terms the divisions that have surfaced within the ruling Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire [PDCI], especially the official statements made by PDCI executive organs. Words such as "masquerade," "fascists," and "thugs" have been used in the corridors of the prime minister's office in reference to the 1 December meetings of the PDCI Central Committee and the Political Bureau.

The same source, however, described as positive the move initiated by Philippe Yace, chairman of the Economic and Social Council, who, according to the source, endeavored to calm the minds of the people. It regretted the fact that political polemics are surfacing at a time when the country must meet important economic deadlines, and recalled, in this regard, that ties with the IMF have been broken since September 1992 and that fresh negotiations will begin next week in order to sign an agreement on a new program, possibly in the first quarter of 1994. The source disclosed that this implies that the government has to draw up and implement "drastic" adjustment measures that would be even more painful than those initiated in the first austerity program in 1990 and 1991.

According to the source, the new package will require true national consensus with both the political parties and the people in order to make the package "the program of the entire nation." The urgent problems to be tackled include external debts—\$14 billion according to the government, and \$17.5 billion according to international statistics—the huge wage bill of the civil service, and the competitiveness of Ivorian products on the world market.

In conclusion, the source pointed out that even though the head of state's illness has led to a sort of de facto transitional period, it should not bring the country to a standstill.

### PDCI Deputies Condemn Premier's 'Constitutional Coup'

AB2611205093 Abidjan REVEIL-HEBDO in French 25 Nov 93 p 6

[Open letter received by REVEIL-HEBDO from seven deputies from the Democratic Party of Cote d'Ivoire (PDCI); date not given; quotation marks as published]

[Excerpts] "The government met on 17 November under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Alassane Dramane Ouattara, who is deputizing [la suppléance] for the president of the Republic, His Excellency Felix Houphouet-Boigny. During the meeting, the head of government presented a report on the working session he had in Geneva with the head of state. The cabinet then adopted several bills and approved conclusions from several reports." This was a communique issued from a

government meeting, which was transformed for obscure reasons into a Council of Ministers meeting.

From the point of view of constitutional law, this contradiction, which is seen in the very text of the communiqué, enables us to discern the actual nature of this cabinet meeting, which is in fact a constitutional coup d'état. In other words, it is the most elaborate form of coup d'état, since it consists in usurping the president's functions through a calculated misinterpretation of the Constitution. [passage omitted]

**What are the elements of the Constitution and of constitutional law that make it possible not to accord any institutional significance to the 17 November Council of Ministers meeting?**

This question leads to another one: By virtue of deputizing for the president of the Republic according to the terms of Article 24 of the Constitution, can the prime minister chair a Council of Ministers meeting and consequently issue decrees and adopt bills in the president's stead? Obviously not, especially as the act of deputizing for the president, which is unknown in almost all Constitutions, has a pejorative meaning. Article 24 of the Constitution states that: "The president of the Republic may delegate some of his powers to the prime minister, who is head of government. The prime minister deputizes for the president of the Republic when the latter is absent from the country." Not only is the act of deputizing, according to Article 24, not envisaged after detailing the powers exercised by the president of the republic, but Article 12 of the Constitution specifically provides that: The president of the Republic is the sole custodian of executive power, which is characteristic of any presidential regime. [passage omitted]

The act of deputizing stipulated under Article 24 is an African idiosyncrasy; it is a ceremonial provision that enables the prime minister to represent the president of the Republic at ceremonies, notably those placed under his auspices. The exclusivity of the president's executive powers (Article 24) compels the substitute, who wants to be more than a ceremonial substitute, to resort to Paragraph 1 of Article 24 in order to obtain a delegation of powers, which is never hypothetical and which cannot be verbal—even if we have an oral culture that is, indeed, highly pronounced beyond our frontiers.

—Was the 17 November Council of Ministers meeting preceded by a formal act of delegation of powers that was duly published in the Official Gazette?

—The requirement of the publication of the delegation of powers enables the verification of the reality of the act, its content, and its duration.

—The requirement of publication in the Official Gazette makes it possible to bring the act to the knowledge of citizens and to allow them to oppose it so that they can eventually dispute the act (on all these points, see 8 February 1950 Council of State, Chauvet- Recueil Lebon page 85; and especially with respect to doctrine,

Rene-Degni Segui—1990 General Administrative Law page 248 and following pages.

Not only do the close allies of the president of the Republic confirm that there has never been a delegation of powers, but perusal of the Official Gazette does not reveal anything to the contrary as well.

Deputizing for the president does not mean acting [l'intérim] for him, and acting for the president does not mean that there is a power vacuum.

For the act of physically deputizing for the president to be transformed into acting for him—the time during which a function is assumed by someone other than the custodian—this act must be accompanied by a delegation of powers.

Since the two paragraphs of Article 24 cannot be dissociated, the Council of Ministers meeting in question is not in conformity with Article 24 Paragraph 1, as there was no clear or even implicit—as the president's close allies tell us—delegation of powers, and it disregards the provisions of Article 22 Paragraph 1, because it was chaired by the prime minister.

The text of this article clearly stipulates that **"the president of the Republic chairs the Council of Ministers meeting."** The Council of Ministers meeting does not therefore have a constitutional basis—and this has several implications.

These implications, two of which are essentially from the legal point of view, are: the invalidity of the deliberations and subsequent acts implemented from the said deliberations. This cabinet meeting adopted several bills and approved the conclusions of several reports. [passage omitted]

Concerning individual decrees, since those relating to appointments are invalid, the appointed people are in a precarious administrative situation. This is most unfortunate for all these senior officers who did not ask to be appointed.

Concerning the bills adopted at this government meeting, since in reality it did not have the powers of the Council of Ministers meeting to adopt them, it follows that the bills submitted to the National Assembly for consideration—since they resulted from invalid deliberations—should be rejected by this institution. Certainly, there are cases where the National Assembly can overlook a minor infraction of procedure, but it cannot overlook—in this particular instance—the most serious of constitutional irregularities: An act executed by an unqualified authority. [passage omitted]

All Ivorians, especially those who do not have any other place to go to, must remain vigilant and, "like the crocodile, sleep with their eyes open." (Felix Houphouët-Boigny).

Signatories: Faustin Kouame, deputy of Bonoua; Sombo Yapi Jean- Claude, deputy-mayor of Alepe; Offoumou

Yapo, deputy of Agboville; Kabran Brou Jerome, deputy of Bongouanou; Kouassi Dongo, deputy of Bondoukou; Gomi Bi Zaouli, deputy of Gohitafla; and Tiama Anatole, deputy of Oume.

### **UND Supports Transition Government, Electoral Council**

*AB0312083693 Abidjan La Chaine Une Television Network in French 2000 GMT 1 Dec 93*

[Text] The National Union for Democracy [UND] held a news conference this morning to make its stand known on the present political situation. The UND supports a transition government and the setting up of a National Electoral Council. Lancine Kone has the details:

[Begin recording] [Kone] A profusion of political statements and articles have been made and written in Cote d'Ivoire since the problem of the application or applicability of our Constitution's Article 11 became the people's major concern. While some people support a transition government, others call for a national salvation government, and a third group suggests the election of a constituent assembly.

As for the UND, it suggests the setting up of a national electoral council and a transition government, but not a transition government born only of negotiations among political parties. Rather, it wants a transition government put in place by a national consultation body. Let us listen to UND Secretary General Octave Anicet Maro explaining the party's stand:

[Maro] What is important for the UND is a true national consultation body in which all Ivoirians who want change will take part. This body should not be a popular tribunal. It should rather lead inevitably to a transition government different—I repeat different—from the transition government people are talking about today [applause] and which, certainly, will be a plot against the Ivorian people. In fact, what is the significance of a transition government formed without previous national consultations? Nothing at all! [applause] It is implicitly nothing but a union government, and in this case, the UND will not take part in it. The national consultation body that we propose should revise the provisions of the Constitution and establish a national electoral council which will organize free, fair, and open elections under the supervision of foreign observers. This national consultation body will put in place a code of conduct that will serve as reference material for the government that is to be put in place. [end recording]

### **Guinea**

#### **Opposition Threatens To Thwart 19 Dec Presidential Election**

*AB0212150093 Paris AFP in English 1448 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Dakar, Dec 2 (AFP)—Opposition candidates in Guinea's first multi-party presidential race threatened

Thursday [2 December] to stop it taking place as scheduled on December 19 if the government ignored their request for a two-month postponement.

The vote was originally supposed to take place this coming Sunday, but military ruler Lansana Conte ordered a two-week delay because preparations were incomplete.

General Conte, who took power in a coup in 1984, is standing against six opposition candidates in the West African state.

His chief rival Alpha Conde, contacted by telephone from neighbouring Senegal, said there was no question of boycotting the poll, but of stopping it from actually taking place this month. Speaking on behalf of four of the opposition candidates, he said there was no way voting papers and other poll material could be ready in two weeks.

He also alleged fraud during voter registration, saying at least 20 percent of the electorate had been deprived of their voting cards. Before the president changed the date, the opposition had said it would "chase away" the administrative officials supervising the election.

### **Liberia**

#### **Sawyer Appeals for Speedy Airlift of Troops**

*AB0312104293 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] The Interim Government of National Unity of Liberia has made an urgent appeal to the United Nations to speed up the airlifting of the expanded ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] troops in order to prevent the collapse of the entire peace process in Liberia. President Amos Sawyer made the appeal yesterday, when he briefed foreign correspondents at the Executive Mansion on the grave concern and gross disappointment of the Liberian people regarding the failure of the United Nations to live up to its obligations under the Cotonou Agreement.

Dr. Sawyer stressed that any further delay on the part of the United Nations to airlift the troops from Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and Uganda could jeopardize the progress so far achieved in the Liberian peace process. He therefore called for concerted international efforts, especially on the part of the United Nations, United States, and the European Community to ensure the prompt airlifting and deployment of the expanded ECOMOG. The Liberian leader expressed regret and disappointment that the delay in bringing the expanded troops has falsified the start of the disarmament process and the seating of the Liberian National Transitional Government.

Dr. Sawyer told the newsmen that five months after the signing of the Cotonou Agreement, which was brokered by the United Nations, that world body has not been able



to airlift the full components of the 300 UN observers. To date, there are fewer than 160 UN observers in Liberia out of a total of 300 observers called for by the agreement.

Touching on the overwhelming domestic support for the Cotonou Agreement, President Sawyer said that none of the parties to the accord has renounced any of the provisions of the agreement. Regarding ECOWAS and ECOMOG, the Liberian chief executive pointed out that ECOWAS has [word indistinct] with its obligation and that ECOMOG has over the last three years performed with excellence and dignity despite its limited resources.

Meanwhile, in the major diplomatic efforts to press for the urgent airlifting of the expanded ECOWAS troops, the Interim Government of Liberia says it is sending a high power delegation to the United Nations in New York, the U.S. State Department and Congress, both in Washington DC, and the French capital of Paris. Interim President Amos Sawyer says the only hold up now with the peace process is the long-awaited arrival of the expanded ECOMOG troops. He spoke of growing concern, frustration, and discontent and as well as the proliferation of armed groups which, he said, were [word indistinct] for the peace process of becoming more fragile and [words indistinct] in a very delicate stage.

Dr. Sawyer said the slow pace at the which the United Nations is performing its role in Liberia has delayed the start of the disarmament of forces and the seating of the transitional government. President Sawyer said he was in touch with the leaders of the subregion, the chairman and the executive secretary of ECOWAS, and the chairman and secretary general of the OAU, regarding the urgency to have the United Nations begin the speedy airlifting of the expanded troops from Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and Uganda.

Commenting on proposals that ECOMOG, as currently constituted, along with UN observers should begin the disarmament process, given the delay in the arrival of the expanded troops, Dr. Sawyer disclosed that ECOMOG had been prepared to look favorably on the proposals if only all the parties would agree. He further disclosed that the United Nations has been asked to negotiate this question. He then renewed his appeal to the NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] to accept the proposals.

In view of the delay, it is now quite clear that the start of the disarmament process and the simultaneous seating of the transitional government cannot take place by the end of the first week of this month as proposed by the interim government.

#### **Rivercess, Grand Bassa Residents Flee Fighting**

*AB0212212093 Monrovia Radio ELBC in English 0900 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] There are reports of an influx of displaced people from Rivercess and Grand Bassa Counties as well the

surrounding towns and villages into Harbel, Margibi Country. This was disclosed recently by the supervisor of the shelter management team of the special emergency (?life) food program assigned in Harbel. According to Mr. Micheal Bo, most of the new arrivals are malnourished and need urgent medical attention. Mr. Bo, who could not give the exact number of the new arrivals, described their condition as pathetic which, he said, should gain the attention of humanitarian organizations in Monrovia.

Meanwhile, Mr. Bo is appealing to donor agencies operating in Liberia, especially the World Food Program and Baptist Relief to provide more food, clothing, and medicine to meet the needs of the rising number of displaced people. Most of the new arrivals are those fleeing the fighting between the Liberian Peace Council and the National Patriotic Front of Liberia in Rivercess County.

### **Niger**

#### **Parliament Adopts 1994 Draft Financial Bill**

*AB3011192593 Niamey Voix du Sahel Network in French 1200 GMT 29 Nov 93*

[Text] Parliamentarians adopted the 1994 financial draft bill this morning by 50 votes to 32. Earlier, the various parliamentary groups expressed their stand on the report proposed by the government. Only the opposition parliamentary group refused to adopt the 1994 financial draft bill. At the end of the voting process, Speaker of the National Assembly Moumouni Djermakoye Adamou made the following statement:

[Begin Adamou recording] Through this act, we are clearly showing the national and international community our ability to assume the responsibilities entrusted to us by the Constitution, an interesting task that also constitutes (?good training). The examination of the 1994 financial draft bill would have been a first performance. The examination of the reference budget for the Third Republic, voted in a multiparty context, is indeed an opportunity for the deputies to take the exact measure of their prerogatives in parliamentary matters and to fully assume them. Through the discussions and various stands on some provisions of the financial draft bill, our assembly has proved once again (?that it is not) merely a sounding board for government decisions. For example, Parliament has rejected the proposal on the reduction of the subsidiaries granted to territorial collectivities for the benefit of the state at a moment when decentralization is presented as a government's priority issue. Furthermore, you proceeded to the reorganization of budget expenditures for institutions and ministries [word indistinct] and some fundamental imperatives that are as follows:

1. The separation of powers. In this sector, credits were allocated to the Supreme Court in order to increase the means that would enable this institution that ranks third in the hierarchy of the institutions of the Republic. The objective was to make the Audit Office more operational.

2. The affirmation of our attachment to the universal principles of human rights by giving the Ministry of Justice the means to face the demands of a law-abiding state, notably, by rendering the living conditions in our prisons more humane.

3. The reestablishment of the credibility of the authority of the state by allocating additional subsidies for safeguarding their food, bedding, and clothes.

4. Rural development and various social sectors have also been examined during the deliberations.

5. The payment of arrears to our embassies to enable them to rebuild the tarnished image of our country abroad.

The present financial law has thoroughly taken into account our preoccupations, and thus expressed the will of the people you represent.

At the time when the Third Republic is being launched, our country is working out a budget intended to be a realistic one, realistic because of the important part played by the external financing demanded by the persistent economic and financial crisis experienced in our country. It is also realistic because it shows an austerity policy and at the same time suggests measures to improve the system of internal revenue collection. Realistic because of the level of objective sacrifices it asked from the entire citizenry. I am making an urgent call on all of you to abide by the terms of this statement because the most important thing is not to foresee, but to make sure the mandate that is given is strictly observed. This is a fundamental prerogative that the Constitution bestows on you, the duty of monitoring the government action including the implementation of the estimates of the financial law. [end recording]

## Nigeria

### Abacha Receives Solidarity Message From Sierra Leone's Strasser

AB0312110993 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Text] Sierra Leonean head of state, Captain Valentine Strasser, has sent a solidarity message to the head of state, General Sani Abacha. In the message, Capt. Strasser expressed confidence in Gen. Abacha's ability to effectively steer the ship of state and restore Nigeria to full democratic governance in due course. He said he fully understood the situation in Nigeria and would support the new administration in its efforts to maintain peace and stability. The Sierra Leonean head of state thanked the Government of Nigeria for the assistance given to his country, particularly in its efforts to contain rebel incursions into its territory.

### Traditional Rulers Pledge Support for Abacha Administration

AB0312104793 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Excerpts] More delegations of traditional rulers were at Dodan Barracks, Lagos, today to express their solidarity and support for the administration of the head of state, General Sani Abacha. Correspondent Chris Ngwu has more on this:

[Begin recording] The delegation of chiefs were from Plateau, Benue, Enugu, and Yobe States. Each group was received in separate audience by the head of state, Gen. Sani Abacha.

The Plateau State delegation was led by the Gwom Gwom [chieftaincy title] of Jos, Dr. Fom Bot. The group thanked Gen. Abacha and the military for saving the nation from the danger posed by, as they put it, an opportunistic, intolerant, and directionless political class whose activities in the last five months almost wiped away the labors of our heroes past.

The Benue State delegation was led by the Tor Tiv [chieftaincy title], His Royal Highness Alfred Tierkula. They thanked Gen. Abacha for offering two indigenes of the state appointments by which [words indistinct] Dr. Iyorchia Ayu, education minister, and the chief press secretary to the head of state, Mr. David Atta. They pledged total support, solidarity, and unflinching loyalty to the Federal Military Government and its programs.

From Enugu State, the traditional rulers were led by Igwe Charles Abangu of Eharomona. The Igwe [chieftaincy title] pledged the support of the people of Enugu for the new administration. He described as commendable the intervention of the military which he said, saved the nation from drifting towards chaos and disintegration.

The fourth group to be received by the head of state today was the delegation from Yobe State, led by Amir of Fika, Alhaji Ibden Muhammadu. They pledged their support and prayed that Allah protect and direct the head of state in his duty toward the nation.

The head of state, in his response to the different groups, reminded the rulers that as custodians of the people's tradition, they should help mobilize their people for national development. The head of state did explain to the chiefs that the military had to intervene because the Interim National Government arrangement, which was initiated by the politicians, simply was not working out. Gen. Abacha, while responding to one of the groups, said traditional rulers will be involved in the planned constitutional conference when it takes off. [passage omitted]

Tomorrow at Dodan Barracks, the Federal Executive Council is expected to meet to discuss the political, economic, and social action agenda of the new administration. [end recording]

### Official Says Government To Investigate Corruption Charges

AB0312105193 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 2 Dec 93

[Excerpts] The chief of general staff, Lieutenant General Oladipo Diya, has announced that the Federal Government will investigate cases of looting of the public treasury and deal with the culprits. He made the announcement when a delegation of traditional rulers from Ogun State paid him a solidarity visit today. Correspondent Mohamed Lagbo has the report:

[Begin recording] The chief of general staff explained to the Ogun traditional rulers that the Federal Government's earlier pronouncement that it will not waste time probing people did not mean it is going to encourage corruption. [passage omitted] Lt. Gen. Diya said that the present government does not intend to stay long. It will leave immediately it has put in place a genuine political structure that will stand the test of time. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### ABN's Nzeribe Hails Military Takeover

AB0312124993 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 2 Dec 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Excerpts] General Sani Abacha has been in power in Nigeria for more than two weeks now and there are some Nigerians who might blame the return of the military and the nonoccurrence of democracy on one man, businessman Chief Arthur Nzeribe. He was the man who founded the Association for a Better Nigeria [ABN] that called on President Babangida to stay in office and he went to court to try and stop the 12 June presidential elections. As it turned out, they were annulled, Ernest Shonekan's short-lived transitional government was appointed and was then ousted by Gen. Abacha. Well, Chief Nzeribe is here in London and Robin White asked him what his reaction was to Gen. Abacha's takeover.

[Begin recording] [Nzeribe] Well, I am in support of the fifth coming of the Nigerian military. I think the move was very audacious. I wasn't surprised, but I was angry. I wasn't surprised in the sense that what Gen. Abacha had done is what we were urging Babangida to do for nine months. I am annoyed that he as Number Two man—the man who has run the country with him for eight years—who could not persuade him to take these steps just three months ago is able to do it three months after Babangida had gone.

[White] So, you are what, fairly pleased? How are you?

[Nzeribe] Well, I am pleased that I have been vindicated. I am pleased that events have shown that the Nigerian political class is not ready for governance. This has been my case, and if you see what had happened since the

annulment of the elections, the political class, if anything, have been hypocrites, and it is amazing that the so-called prodemocracy group—the ones that were doing all the shouting, Babangida go, Babangida go—they are the very ones who are now falling over Abacha to take offices.

[White] So, what will you be doing now in the months ahead?

[Nzeribe] Just watching the events, watching and see what will happen. Personally, I have no hope of our returning to a civilian rule in the next five years or even 10 years. There is so much talk in the country about a national conference. That would be the worse thing that will happen to us.

[White] Why?

[Nzeribe] If we go to a national conference, knowing the Nigerian political class as I do, we will be stuck in there for the next three or four years and not able to come to an agreement.

[White] So, you are what, sitting and watching, saying I told you so or what are going to do?

[Nzeribe] Sitting and watching and saying I told you so.

[White] Some Nigerians might blame you for the whole thing. I mean, it is you that, you know, encouraged the military to stay on; it is you that said that they shouldn't hand over to civilians. They might be saying it is your fault.

[Nzeribe] I take full responsibility for what happened. I am not about to make any apologies. Given the same circumstances I will do the same thing again because events are now vindicating my position. What was my position? I was saying:

A. There is no good foundation for a lasting and durable democracy. I was saying the political class was corrupt. Why shouldn't I feel vindicated? The same people who were shouting: out military, out military, they are the same people who are now conniving and accepting positions in a truly fully-fledged military regime. Therefore, I feel vindicated. [passage omitted]

[White] So, your interest in all this politicking is what? To make money or to get into power?

[Nzeribe] Not in the least, to get into power. I am interested in politics for power, but then the question is: What do I want power for? I want power to effect changes, I want power because I see people who don't know how to try to govern those who know. [passage omitted]

[White] Why would anyone want to vote for somebody who has been called a swindler?

[Nzeribe] Well, you would like to know that in the election that was canceled last year, out of 11 candidates



of the Social Democratic Party, I came third, and that voting was done nationwide. I think that is something for you to take note of.

[White] So, how do you view your political fortunes now? I mean, you've said yourself that you don't see Nigeria returning to civilian rule for five years or even 10 years, so how do your political fortunes look?

[Nzeribe] I will wait and see and watch how events develop. The quarrel, the only disagreement I have with Abacha is that his actions have been very illogical and I think he has been ill-organized—the way he is continuing the policy of appeasing the west to the detriment of the east. His appointments have done nothing to reflect the eastern interest, or more particular, the Igbo interest. That, I will mount a campaign to try to correct. [passage omitted]

[White] If Abacha were to offer you a job in the government, would you take it?

[Nzeribe] In the circumstances, yes, I would if it will be a step in protecting the eastern and the Igbo interest.

[White] So, what job would you take? Any job in the government or would it have to be minister of petroleum affairs or what? What kind of job would you accept?

[Nzeribe] I have not been offered, so the question does not arise. [end recording]

#### **Babangida, Family Leave on Private Visit to Egypt**

*NC0212220993 Lagos Nigeria Television Network in English 2000 GMT 2 Dec 93*

[Text] Former President General Ibrahim Babangida has left [word indistinct] for Egypt on holidays. A statement issued by the former president's spokesman [name indistinct] says his visit is on the invitation of Egypt's President Husni Mubarak.

General Babangida will be away for about four weeks, and he is being accompanied by his wife and two daughters, 'A'ishah and Halimat. He will also visit Saudi Arabia to perform the Lesser Hajj, 'Umrah.

#### **Togo**

##### **Opposition Leaders Call Election Timetable 'Premature'**

*AB0212081393 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 1230 GMT 1 Dec 93*

[Text] Two of the leading opposition groups have revived the debate on the parliamentary election timetable. The Action Committee for Renewal [CAR], led by Mr. Yao Agboyibor, and the Togolese Union for Democracy, led by Edem Kodjo, think the 23 January and 6 February election dates, announced by the government on 26 November for the first and second rounds of election, are premature. CAR thinks that in order to be able to set a timely date for the elections, developments in election preparations such as the revision of voters' registers, and the distribution of voter cards should be taken into account. In the Togolese Government's view, these arguments seem like a pretext. At a news conference in Paris in the morning of 1 December, Foreign Minister Ouattara Natchaba indicated that the elections will not be postponed. He was interviewed by Mohamed Yousouffou:

[Begin Natchaba recording] When the government set the date the first time, the head of state—even though he was not directly concerned by the elections—came out to say that more time should be set aside for that. In order to achieve that we should take into account the work undertaken by the experts who have been put at our disposal by France and Germany. It is within this framework that the experts carried out the analysis for the production of new voter cards, the correction of voters' registers, and the distribution of cards. The new election date was set based on that analysis. The technical aspect was undertaken in conjunction with opposition representatives. It is an exaggeration to say that the election date is inopportune. I think the date is right because it was not decided upon unilaterally. I do not know how and by what means the opposition wants the elections to be postponed. When does the opposition want the date to be postponed to? There is no longer any question of postponement. People must take into account the Togolese people's suffering. All conditions have been met and there is no reason why the elections should be postponed. If we do that, postponing elections will become a Togolese habit. [end recording]

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